

Nobility, Faith and Masculinity

*The Hospitaller Knights of Malta,
c.1580–c.1700*

Emanuel Buttigieg

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The Central Mediterranean Area. Acknowledgement: Reproduced from *Society, culture and identity in early modern Malta* (Malta: Mireva Publications, 2000), xix, with the kind permission of the author, Carmel Cassar and the publisher.



The Maltese Islands. The map denotes some of the key places that will be referred to throughout this study: 1 Valletta; 2 Vittoriosa (or Birgu); 3 Senglea (or I-Isla); 4 Cospicua (or Bormla); 5 Floriana; 6 Ғaż Ғabbar; 7 Bir Miftuh; 8 Birkirkara; 9 Mdina; 10 Rabat; 11 Mellieħa; 12 Rabat (Gozo); 13 Island of Filfla. Acknowledgement: Outline map downloaded from d-maps.com and is here used in line with the published terms and conditions and with the kind permission of Mr Daniel Dalet, webmaster d-maps.com. The URL where the original map comes from is http://d-maps.com/carte.php?lib=malta_map&num_car=2403&lang=en.



Map of Valletta, 1588, engraving, 18x14cm. *Statuta Hospitalis Hierusalem*, 200. Acknowledgement: © National Library of Malta. It denotes some of the key places that will be referred to throughout this study: 1 Fort St Elmo; 2 the Holy Infirmary; 3 the Grand Master's Palace; 4 St John's Conventual Church; 5 the main entrance into the city; 6 St John's Cavalier; 7 St James' Cavalier.

A Note on Currency

In Malta, the Order of St John minted its own currency, called the *scudo* (pl. *scudi*). This was the standard silver coin and unit of account: 1 *scudo* = 12 *tari*; 1 *tari* = 20 *grani*; 1 *grano* = 6 *denari*; $2\frac{1}{2}$ *scudi*/1 *uncia* = 30 *tari*.¹ It is difficult to convert this currency into modern-day values; however, when the British authorities of Malta demonetized the *scudo* in 1886, 1 *scudo* was equivalent to £0.1s.7d.² Today this would have the equivalent spending power of £3.82 or €4.35.³ The following examples are meant to provide a sense of what currency was worth at different points in time in Hospitaller Malta. In the first half of the seventeenth century, a boatswain earned from four to six *scudi* a month. Carpenters on a Hospitaller galley earned three *scudi* a month. The Grand Master's income from a combination of Maltese and European assets increased from an average of 30,000 *scudi* a year in the late sixteenth century, to an average of 100,000 *scudi* by 1716.⁴

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Abbreviations

Archival Abbreviations

A.R.S.I.	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome.
A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta.	Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato, Malta.
B.A.N.L.C.	Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Rome.
B.A.V., Barb. Lat.	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Fondo Barberini Latino.
B.Ang.	Biblioteca Angelica, Rome.
B.C.	Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.
B.M.R.	Biblioteca Magistrale di Roma.
B.N.C.R.	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma.
B.Vall.	Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome.
C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P.	Cathedral Archives of Mdina, Malta, Archives of the Inquisition of Malta, Criminal Proceedings.
C.A.M., A.I.M., Corr.	Cathedral Archives of Mdina, Malta, Archives of the Inquisition of Malta, Corrispondenza.
C.A.M., Col. Ges.	Cathedral Archives of Mdina, Malta, Collegio dei Gesuiti Malta.
N.L.M., A.O.M.	National Library of Malta, Archives of the Order of Malta.
N.L.M., Libr. Ms.	National Library of Malta, Library Manuscripts Collection.
S.J.G.	St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, London.

Other Abbreviations

Anon.	Anonymous
Doc.	Document
f.	Folio
ff.	Folios
G.M.	Grand Master
Mgr.	Monsignor
Misc.	Miscellanea / Miscellaneous
Ms.	Manuscript
n.p.	No pagination
^r	Retro
Rev ^{mo}	Reverendissimo
^v	Verso
Ven ^{do}	Venerando
Vol.	Volume
Vols.	Volumes

Introduction

*Why is there all this talk about the Templars and nothing about the Knights of Malta?*¹

This question is left unanswered by Umberto Eco's characters in *Foucault's Pendulum*, a novel about secret plans and societies. The answer seems to lie in the dramatic fate of the Knights Templar, which culminated in their last Grand Master being burnt alive in 1314: from these ashes arose the legends and romances that raised the Templars to unprecedented prominence.² On the other hand, the Hospitaller Knights of Malta (or of St John) have survived without interruption for nearly a thousand years; no mean achievement, but somehow less captivating than a bloody demise. From Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1788), to John Huston's 1941 movie *The Maltese Falcon*, the Hospitallers have on occasion been conflated with the Templars.³

A short ride on any of the Metropolitan, Hammersmith & City and Circle Line services of the London Underground takes you from the sprawling King's Cross/St Pancras station to Farringdon, in Clerkenwell. As you emerge from the tube station, you come onto a bustling street of pubs, restaurants and shops serving a constant flow of punters, where your senses are treated or teased by a whole array of colours, sounds and smells. Take a left, towards the Victorian architectural wonder of Smithfield Meat Market, and continuing along the road, always bearing left, you will come into St John's Lane. Amid various signposts that indicate the area's past connections with the Order of St John, your surroundings grow quiet as the pubs give way to smart offices and to a grey-bricked medieval-looking building known as St John's Gate ('the Gate'). This was once the headquarters of the Order of St John in England, until its dissolution under King Henry VIII (1491–1547). Nothing much of the medieval structure has survived, with most of what can be seen today being a Victorian recreation in the spirit of nineteenth-century romanticism; it is still possible, however, to go much further back in

time by descending into the stillness of the twelfth-century crypt. Today, the Gate is the home of Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem (an Order of the British Crown) and to its offshoot, the St John Ambulance, a leading international first aid, transport and care charity. St John Ambulance is well-known around the world: its volunteers provide assistance at major events such as the London Marathon and its former logo is again visible on the TARDIS, the time and space travel machine used in the most popular British science fiction TV series *Doctor Who*.⁴ Both the building and the organisations it houses stand as witnesses to the silent, often unfamiliar history of an organisation that has been present in various countries for many centuries. This book endeavours to tell a small part of that millennial story and to chart new directions of enquiry in order to illustrate the many-sided experience of being a Hospitaller in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe.

Over the centuries, the Order of Malta has been known by a number of names derived from its functions and the places it inhabited. In this book, the term 'Order of Malta' will be used because it reflects the deep connection that developed between the Order and Malta in early modern times (although the title 'Order of St John' will also be used wherever appropriate). This intimate association is still reflected in the modern Order's official title as the 'Sovereign Military Hospitaller Order of St John of Jerusalem of Rhodes and of Malta', in short, the 'Order of Malta'. Similarly, modern Malta still identifies and promotes itself as 'the Island of the Knights', for instance, by dressing up Brussels' iconic landmark, the Manneken Pis, in the habit of a Knight of Malta.⁵ The members of the Order were called the 'Hospitallers', a title derived from their foundation as a hospice in medieval Jerusalem and from their nursing function that has constituted the Order's backbone ever since. Throughout this book, the term 'Hospitallers' will be used to cover all the various ranks within the Order – mainly knights, chaplains and servants-at-arms – while the more specific terms will be utilized where suitable.

The time frame of this study, c. 1580 to c. 1700, departs from the customary periodization used by historians of the early modern Order, which tends to embrace the full stay of the Order in Malta (1530 to 1798). The chronological bearings adopted here were determined by a number of practical and historiographical factors. For the Order, the period from 1480 (first siege of Rhodes) to c. 1580, was a time characterized by epic battles, the relocation of its headquarters, and city-building; in 1566, work commenced on Valletta, with the Magistral Palace, the Holy Infirmary and the Conventual Church being built during the 1570s, thereby creating the communal space that would act as the focal point for the Hospitallers

from c. 1580 onwards (see the map of Valletta, x). On the other hand, the eighteenth century – the age of ‘Enlightenment’ and seen also as ushering in new ideas about manhood – marks an apposite end point for this study.⁶ The period from c. 1580 to c. 1700 was a time of consolidation and regeneration; the Order participated in the renewal of the early modern nobility and of Roman Catholicism, carried on with its intended missions of caring for the sick and fighting for the faith, and offered a space for many men to lead their lives and thereby contribute to the varieties of masculinity in Europe. The start and end dates of this book were characterized by revolts within the Order that challenged established authority; this is a tacit recognition of the centrality of violence in Hospitallers’ lives and, hence, in this study.⁷ This chronology skirts the need to engage in some well-worn debates – did the Hospitallers want Malta in 1530? What was the significance of the Great Siege of 1565? Was the eighteenth century a time of decline for the Order?⁸ – and instead creates a context for posing a series of alternative and highly revealing questions that have not previously been asked.

The present state of the history of the Order of Malta has been shaped by five traits in particular. First, there is a strong antiquarian influence that particularly affects the early modern phase of the history of the Order.⁹ Ironically, this situation stems in part from the overabundance of archival material in Malta that can overwhelm researchers and lead to historical analysis being overtaken by narrow narratives. Secondly, scholarly interest in the Order has been predominantly medieval in focus, with a steady increase in interest about the nineteenth-century Order.¹⁰ Thirdly, the Order – along with other military Orders and the nobility as a whole – were for a long time considered to have declined and decayed in the face of the increasingly centralized and bureaucratic states of the early modern period. Fourthly, the impression ‘that chivalry [is] always thought to be in decline’ has inevitably left an impact on perceptions of the Order.¹¹ Finally, the idea that the way of life of the Hospitallers was outdated by the middle of the thirteenth century has been misinterpreted as meaning that the Order was irrelevant for Europe.¹² The effect of all of these historiographical peculiarities has been a relative neglect – in terms of the quality and direction of studies, not their quantity – of the history of the Order in early modern times.¹³ Nonetheless, paralleling the revisions experienced by the historiography of nobility, the last two decades or so have seen the idea of decay being replaced by renewal and relevance: the Order had important political, social, economic and cultural functions to play in early modern Europe. The appearance in 1993 of a work entitled *Hospitaller Malta 1530–1798*, edited by Victor Mallia-Milanes, signalled a historiographical shift in its attempt to

understand the relational aspect of the Order and its island-base within a wider early modern Mediterranean/European framework. Furthermore, across Europe over the course of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, new and diverse military orders (some with a stronger religious element than others) came into being and flourished. Some examples include the Order of St Stephen in Tuscany (1562), the Order of Sts Maurice and Lazarus in Savoy (1573), the Order of the Thistle (1687) and Order of the Bath (1725) in Britain and the Order of St Hubert in Württemberg (1702); their creation shows that the ideal of the military order was far from dead.¹⁴

In an attempt to move away from the traditional traits that have moulded Hospitaller history, this book has adopted the conceptual framework of cultural history: hence, there is a concern with drawing out connections between practices, representations and encounters to understand the experience of belonging to the Order of Malta, with all its richness, contradictions and evocativeness.¹⁵ The seeds of this project were sown from reading Ann Williams' paper on novices and pages in the Order.¹⁶ This highlighted the rich and largely unexplored field of hierarchical relations within the Order, particularly as influenced by age, status, gender roles and violence. The various publications of David F. Allen, which have stressed the need to place the history of the Order within other historiographies, have also shaped this book.¹⁷ Two other key influences on this study are Lyndal Roper's *Oedipus and the Devil* and Alexandra Shepard's *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*.¹⁸ These works draw attention to masculine gender-systems and how their diversities, ambiguities and contradictions contribute to a fuller understanding of social relations. Roper explores how competing masculinities are shaped by age, sexuality and violence, while Shepard offers a flexible reading of patriarchy; this is based on a case-study of Cambridge that highlights the necessity of considering age, status and the alternatives to the household-based model of manhood. These reflections have informed the concern of this book with issues of male fraternity, conflict and control among the Hospitallers.

The Order of Malta (c. 1580–c. 1700)

The Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, Rhodes and Malta began as a hospice in Jerusalem – some time around the 1070s – dedicated to the well-being of pilgrims visiting the Holy Land. In the papal bull *Pie postulatio voluntatis* of 1113, which conferred papal protection and privileges to the

Order, the Blessed Gerard (d.1120) was referred to as the '*institutor*' of the Hospital. After the First Crusade (1095–1099), the fame and wealth of the Order soared and it soon became the first of the new international orders of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The first known written Rule of the Order, attributed to Raymond du Puy (1120–1158/60), successor to Gerard, was drawn up during this period.¹⁹ As pressure from resurgent Muslim powers on the Latin states of the East increased, the military-religious orders (in particular the Hospitallers, Templars and Teutonics) were increasingly responsible for the defence effort. The last crusader city, Acre, fell in 1291, and the Order evacuated to Cyprus.²⁰ Between 1306 and 1309, the Hospitallers managed to conquer Rhodes. This gave them a much-needed lease of life that permitted them – unlike the Templars – to survive and prosper into the early sixteenth century.²¹ Their new island-home necessitated the development of maritime forces and coincided with the advent of a new mighty Muslim power, the Ottoman Empire, which in 1453 conquered Constantinople. In 1480, the Hospitallers under Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson (1476–1503) managed to repulse an Ottoman siege of Rhodes, but in 1522, Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566) oversaw in person a second siege of Rhodes that lasted from June to December. The Grand Master, Philippe Villiers de l'Isle-Adam (1521–1534) led a brave defence effort, but with no help from the West (Venice had, for instance, signed a neutrality agreement with Suleiman), he had to negotiate surrender. On 1 January 1523, l'Isle-Adam and his Hospitallers left Rhodes, taking with them some of their archives, relics and treasures, and accompanied by many Rhodiots. After seven years without a base, the Order managed to secure tenure of the Maltese Islands and Tripoli in North Africa from Emperor Charles V (1516–1556). Although in 1551 the Order lost Tripoli to the Ottomans, it was able to withstand the Great Siege of Malta from May to September 1565. The leader of the Hospitallers and the Maltese was Grand Master Jean Parisot de la Valette (1557–1568). In terms of the balance of power in the Mediterranean, the Siege of Malta caused no significant changes; but as regards the Order, it signalled the commencement of a new confident phase in its history.²²

By 1580, the two factors that came to shape the face of Hospitaller Malta were urbanisation and migration (both internal and external), which led to a substantial growth of the population. In 1530, this had stood at about 25,000 for Malta and Gozo. By 1590, the population of Malta alone had risen to 30,000, a third of whom lived in the harbour cities: Vittoriosa (Birgu), Senglea (l-Isola), Valletta and Cospicua (Bormla). A detailed census of the population from 1632 shows that the total for Malta and Gozo

was 51,750. Of these, almost 35 per cent lived in the urban harbour area. In 1670, the population for Malta and Gozo stood at about 50,629, a figure that remained fairly stable for the rest of the seventeenth century. The population pattern of Malta followed in broad terms those of the rest of Europe, which was characterized by a fairly rapid growth towards the end of the sixteenth century, slower growth or reduction in the first half of the seventeenth century, followed by a renewed increase, even if at a slower pace, from c. 1660. Throughout Europe, including Malta, there was remarkable urban growth: donations from various European princes helped finance the rise of the new city of Valletta.²³ Over the course of the early modern period, Maltese and other merchants participated in an ever-growing trade in various commodities ranging from slaves to cotton to wine. The 1632 census revealed that 3,080 people, including Hospitallers, sailors, soldiers and rowers were employed on board the Order of Malta's six galleys. This figure shows the predominant role that maritime activities played in the local economy. In turn, this created the necessity for many nations to have consuls in Malta to represent their interests on the island: by the end of the seventeenth century, there were about 15 consulates in Malta.²⁴ Maritime activity in general, and corsairing in particular, boosted the economy and brought in a steady stream of slaves. Throughout the period 1580–1700, there was always a substantial population of slaves – mostly Muslims – living in Malta. Estimates reveal that there were, for instance, about 3,000 in 1590, and about 2,000 in 1632. These constituted an important source of domestic and galley labour.²⁵

In Malta, the Grand Master (the head of the Order) was invested with the powers of secular ruler of the islands. In this capacity, he had to contend with two separate and independent jurisdictions: that of the Bishop of Malta and of the Inquisitor. Each of these had his own tribunal with distinct but overlapping jurisdictions, which caused endless disputes about the limits of each other's powers and made administrative and judicial systems quite complex. The Inquisition of Malta was established as a tribunal separate from the Bishop's in 1574. The first Inquisitor was Mgr Pietro Dusina, who was sent to Malta by the Pope as Apostolic Delegate and Inquisitor; from there onwards all Inquisitors of Malta were Italian and acted also as Apostolic Delegates. The Inquisition Tribunal was presided over by one Inquisitor only; however, he was assisted by consultants, who could be laymen, secular and regular clergy. Most of the Inquisitors sent to Malta were primarily jurists, trained in law, but their consultants were versed in theology. Many Inquisitors of Malta fostered close links with Inquisitors in Sicily as a way of controlling and chasing up miscreants. There were

a limited number of paid officials of the Inquisition and substantial numbers of 'familiars', individuals associated with the Inquisition and who derived benefits from this connection. Initially, it had been decreed that when Hospitallers were brought before the Inquisitor, the Grand Master, the Conventual Prior (the religious head of the Order) and the Vice-Chancellor were also to be present. This prerogative was abrogated in the early seventeenth century, but the Inquisitor was expected to keep the Grand Master informed of any Hospitallers who were summoned before him or arrested.²⁶ The Inquisition was a fundamental part of the lives of the Hospitallers throughout the period under study.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Order, with its headquarters in Malta and Hospitallers active throughout Europe, was revered and admired by the nobility that dominated Europe. The kind of institution represented by the Order of Malta was so respected that it was used as a model for similar organisations. In 1532, Giovanni Pietro Caraffa (Pope Paul IV, 1555–1559) had envisaged the establishment of a military Order similar to that of St John, dedicated specifically to fighting Lutheranism.²⁷ In 1562, the Medici created the Tuscan military-religious order of St Stephen Pope and Martyr and modeled it (with some modifications) on the Hospitallers.²⁸ The military orders continued to be held in high esteem even in England. Throughout the Stuart era there were, in fact, a number of attempts to re-establish the Order of Malta in England. Samuel Pepys was a particularly staunch admirer of the Hospitallers, whom he believed to be not only excellent seafarers but also 'men of quality'.²⁹ The Hospitallers themselves had a strong sense of the role and history of their Order in the world: Frà Sabba Castiglione defined the Order as one of the most ancient, honoured and dignified institutions of Christianity.³⁰

Although the Order had been founded as a charitable organisation dedicated to the provision of hospitality for pilgrims in Jerusalem, it is clear that from early on its members were taking up arms to fight in the Holy Land. Regulations were made regarding the military officials of the Order during the tenure of Master Alphonso of Portugal (1202–1206); however the Order's military activities preceded the drawing up of regulatory statutes. As a land-based power, the Order projected its military might in the figure of the mounted knight and in the manning and building of mighty fortified castles. After the fall of the last Latin settlements in the Holy Land in 1291, the military dimension of the Hospitallers had to be adapted to the reality of an island setting. On both Rhodes and Malta, the Order's existence was intimately linked to that of its Muslim opponents: as overlords of a series of islands, first in the Aegean and then in the central

Mediterranean, the war against Islam necessitated the upkeep of an efficient naval force, as well as extensive expenditure on fortifications. Indeed, financial and strategic considerations related to war and defence were regular issues of debate within the Order: finding a balance between what was needed and what could be afforded was never easy.³¹

The Order's ability to wage war rested on the authorization and blessing of the Papacy and the Church; the papal bull *In Coena Domini*, which prohibited the supply of war-related materials to enemies of Christendom, provided a kind of legal framework that legitimated Hospitaller plundering of Muslim commodities.³² This conflation of religion and violence was captured in a series of *Relazioni* (narratives) or *Avvisi* (newsletters), which described in detail naval encounters between Hospitallers and Muslims.³³ The printing press was used by the Order of Malta to show the continued relevance of a military-religious order dedicated to fighting Islam, defending an ideal vision of a Christian commonwealth in Europe, as well as to attract new candidates with the promise of adventure and spiritual salvation through combat.³⁴ As an extension of its conflict with Islam, the Order issued a regular stream of corsairing licences: permits which allowed their holders to carry out piratical activities against Muslim shipping under certain conditions, stipulating, for instance, the area where a corsair was meant to operate. Corsairing was practised by both Christians and Muslims throughout the Mediterranean. Hospitaller corsairing licences stated that corsairs could not attack other Christians; however, such conditions were not always followed. In the case of the Greeks, their status as Christian subjects of the Muslim Ottoman Empire placed them in an ambivalent position and, although the papacy repeatedly instructed the Hospitallers not to attack Greek vessels, such incidents happened on a regular basis.³⁵ In the fluid world of early modern encounters and conflicts, the Hospitallers and those holding corsairing licences were prepared to forego legal formalities in view of the rich pickings to be had from corsairing. Conversely, the Order – even while carrying out its mission of fighting Islam – could not afford to ignore the wider picture, particularly the inclinations of its two most important patrons, the papacy and France.

The Pope had the final say in the administration of the Order, whereas France provided most of its members and revenue, a state of affairs that created both opportunities and problems. The Order's links to the Papacy were crucial for its continuing survival and functioning on the international stage.³⁶ So strong was this link that on 13 August 1597, the Senate of Venice decreed that during those sessions that dealt with the Order, the *papalisti* (those Venetian patricians perceived to have strong ties with Rome) were to

be excluded from its meetings.³⁷ The vast amount of documentation about the Order and the papacy still held in archives and libraries in the Vatican and Rome is further evidence of the extent of contacts between them.³⁸ The defensive needs of the island were often brought before the Pope, who would usually grant some help: Pope Pius V (1566–1572) was in fact the single biggest benefactor of the new city of Valletta. The Papacy extended its ecclesiastical and diplomatic immunity to the Order, but it also tended to appropriate Hospitaller properties in Italy as an extension of papal lands to be distributed to its favourites, who were not always Hospitallers.³⁹ On the other hand, over the course of the seventeenth century, French influence increased throughout the Mediterranean and this had important repercussions for the Order's operations against the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁰ Much of the material for the Order's galleys came from France, there was extensive commerce between the two, and more importantly most of the Order's lands were in France: the French Wars of Religion (1562–1598), and the rebellions known as the *Fronde* (1648–1653), caused severe disruption to the Order's management and finances.⁴¹

The dominant positions of the Papacy and France within the Order often meant that wider tensions between these two were reflected in divisions among Hospitallers. The conflicts tended to involve the Inquisitor as papal representative on the one hand, and French Hospitallers or French visitors on the island on the other. A particular bone of contention was whether the Inquisition of Malta had the authority to investigate those who were sailing under the flag of France. In around 1638, a French vessel entered the harbour of Malta, and among those on board there were two Huguenots who apparently wanted to re-embrace the Catholic faith. The Inquisitor wanted to have access to them and the Grand Master asked the captain of the vessel to hand over the two men to the Inquisitor. The captain, however, refused, saying that in France there was no Inquisition and that if he handed them over it would be a serious offence towards the jurisdiction of his most Christian Majesty. The vessel left harbour but a violent storm forced it back into Malta, seriously damaging the galley. On being told that this was a divine sign that the two men should be released, the captain continued to refuse, as this would have amounted to a breach of his King's jurisdiction. The French government insisted that the Order could not board vessels bearing the French flag to inspect their contents. During the 1670s, under pressure from France, the Order instructed all corsairs flying its flag to forfeit the right of *visita* on French vessels; the *visita* had allowed corsairs to search vessels for Muslim passengers and merchandise. Later, in December 1680, the Inquisitor wrote to Rome about alarming rumours that had reached

Malta of the French flag being extended to Muslims as a way of decreasing corsairing and encouraging trade with the Levant, a development that the Inquisitor felt was detrimental to the Order and to Christendom.⁴²

The intimate way in which the Order was entangled with Europe – as an institution of the Catholic Church, as a major landowner and as a corporation of noblemen and aristocrats – meant that the incessant warfare of the seventeenth century left a deep impact on it. The Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) saw most European powers engaged in a conflict that was as much about Catholic-Protestant rivalries, as it was about Franco-Habsburg antagonism.⁴³ In a letter to his cousin in Avignon, the Knight De Bartelasse told him how 'the illness of which France is suffering and the war in Italy' were creating so much havoc and anxiety within the Order that the Pope was considering summoning a Chapter General to deal with the situation. In fact, the following year, the Chapter General of 1631 was one of the most significant in the Order's history in re-organising its structures.⁴⁴ In a Europe torn apart by war, the only resort left to the Order was to turn to the Papacy in moments of need: in 1640, the Order made a plea to the Holy See to provide it with gunpowder because most of the Order's stocks had been lost in a terrible fire, and since most Christian princes were at war, there was none forthcoming from them.⁴⁵

Franco-Spanish hostilities were reflected in Malta in arguments that arose between Hospitallers of those two nations: in 1642, two Conventual Chaplains had a heated discussion in the sacristy of the Conventual Church about whom the Pope was siding with in the wars in Italy.⁴⁶ The problems for the Order arising from the hostilities of these two nations reached their peak in the Franco-Spanish War of 1653–1659, which not only tested the harmony of national relations within the Order, but also created an almost impossible situation in terms of the Order's neutrality. Notwithstanding this complicated intra-European bickering that so forcefully affected the Order, it was still capable of carrying out its mission to wage war against the Ottoman Empire, and Muslims in general, throughout the Mediterranean. Despite the traditional rivalry between Venice and the Order, the Hospitallers were the most constant allies Venice had in the dragged-out War of Candia (Crete) 1645–1669, in which they contributed as fighters and as healers. The Order also played a prominent part in the War of Morea (1683–1699), which saw an alliance of the Habsburg Empire, Poland, Venice, the Papal States and the Order ranged against the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁷

The Order was a major landowner across Europe, effectively ruling or holding sway over villages, towns and thousands of people.⁴⁸ Hence, the Order's involvement at various levels of European society meant that the

Hospitallers were affected by, and played a part in the developments that characterized the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. This is an aspect of the Order's history that historians are only now beginning to appreciate.⁴⁹ Paralleling the pattern in Counter-Reformation historiography, which has seen a rise in interest in the study of gender through the study of nuns, the historiography of the Order has witnessed a similar development. There is growing appreciation of how female members of the Order promoted those family networks that were so crucial for the sustenance of the Order's recruitment, finances and patronage. However, given the predominantly male composition of the Order and its military ethos, there has been a remarkable lack of consideration of masculinity.⁵⁰ This situation reflects a trend in the wider study of corporate structures where gender often remains a non-issue; nevertheless its pervasiveness as a factor determining the lives of the Hospitallers needs to be acknowledged.⁵¹

Nobility, Faith and Masculinity

Any historical investigation has to deal with the fact that socio-cultural experiences and their representations often belie attempts to sort them into neat categories. It is not merely a case of a disjuncture between prescription and practice; rather, human beings and societies are so complex as to defy most attempts at generalisation. Historians, in fact, are increasingly attracted to the concept of 'hybridity', which allows focus to shift from the binary of black and white (ideals and realities) to the grey areas of complex experiences. At the same time, in order to get at these grey areas, it is useful to have some basic working definitions at the start, precisely to shed a yet more revealing light on the variety of the past. The following definitions of nobility, faith and masculinity are based on the *Oxford English Dictionary* but they also reflect the contents of the pages that follow. Hence, nobility is understood as the 'state or condition of being noble in rank or title, or noble by birth', as well as 'the quality of having high moral principles' and an appearance that is 'magnificent, stately; impressive of proportions'. In early modern Europe, nobility was a pre-eminent social estate, generally linked to land-holding and normally associated with qualities of moral, political and military leadership. The second term, faith, can be defined as 'a system of religious belief' and as 'confidence, reliance, trust' in a particular religious doctrine. Religion infused early modern life through formal organisational structures – the Order itself being one such structure – and set out moral guidelines to direct human life, which offered

both solace as well as dictates against which to react. Finally, masculinity is defined as 'the state or fact of being masculine; the assemblage of qualities regarded as characteristic of men'.⁵² This straightforward rendering should in fact alert us to the real difficulty of explaining this term. Studying masculinity requires an awareness of the meanings inscribed in the male body through which men relate to their environment, looking out for subjective emotions that shape men's thoughts, and observing the practices through which men manifest their being, in particular, when seeking recognition of their conduct. In the end, what will emerge from this study is a far more complicated picture of Hospitaller lives than can be captured in three short definitions, but these should be seen as flexible characterizations aimed at aiding understanding.

The historiography of nobility, faith and masculinity is vast and multifarious; hence, the purpose of this section is to tease out certain key issues within each field that are particularly pertinent to the history of the Hospitallers. 'Nobility' is a protean concept: assumptions about which people were included under the term nobility, the differences between those that made up these ranks, their place in society and their relationship to the state have changed over time.⁵³ In seventeenth-century France, the definition of nobility and the relationship between the nobility of the sword and the nobility of the robe were issues of major contention. A series of related factors were considered as marks of nobility: birth, lineage, titles, coat-of-arms, land-based wealth, clothes, and the right to carry weapons, especially swords. Honour was the keystone of being noble but how to define honour was debatable; similar debates were going on in Spain, Portugal and Italy.⁵⁴ Government, diplomacy and above all military service continued to be the arenas in which noblemen could best prove their worth, status and manhood. Increasingly such offices carried remuneration from the state, but the expectation that nobles could provide the necessary finances in the service of their prince remained, as did the widely accepted assumption that noblemen had an inherent aptitude for military service.⁵⁵

In most places, the nobility was divided between an elite (the aristocracy) and the middling and lesser nobility; the level of differentiation between these categories varied according to the specific conditions of a territory.⁵⁶ The Order of Malta recruited members from all levels of the nobility, as long as they could meet the required criteria. Although this observation is broadly applicable across Catholic Europe, it needs to be qualified in terms of local circumstances: in Portugal, for instance, the Hospitallers distinguished themselves from other military orders by recruiting members from the 'nobility of lineage and arms' rather than the simple nobility.⁵⁷

Selecting a son to become a Hospitaller formed an integral part of noble families' plans for successful adaptation in the changing circumstances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In fact, by studying the Order of Malta, one is able to follow the wider shift in the historiography of the early modern nobility, from the traditional view of crises and decline, to one of consolidation and transformation.⁵⁸ The nobility was more resilient and adaptable than was previously thought and central authorities functioned better when they co-operated with the nobility, although this collaboration was ambiguous and complex in itself.⁵⁹ The relationship between the nobility and the Order was part of this wider process of adaptation characterized by mutual reinforcement: membership of the Order was an indelible stamp that asserted the nobility of a man and his family.⁶⁰

The Chapter General of the Order held in 1597 recognised that nobility was not a monolithic category across Europe and across all periods: instead, it acknowledged different patterns of historical evolution which required specific consideration.⁶¹ As argued by the Order in the late sixteenth century, the European nobility was a palimpsest of convergence and variety which modern historiography is trying to decipher. Each nobility had its particularities: for instance, in the Papal States, every community had its own local customs, so that while Bologna was dominated by a tightly knit patriciate of some 300 families, Rome was a magnet for nobles from all across Italy, due to the presence of the papal curia. The Neapolitan nobility was equally varied and complex, with a mix of urban and feudal structures and an increasing emphasis on the inter-relatedness of blood and piety.⁶² The nobility of the Holy Roman Empire was distinct because of the use of partible inheritance and the increasingly loose imperial structures, which reduced the scope for an aristocratic elite as found in other European states.⁶³ These few examples illustrate the complexity of the nobility to which the Order had to respond. At the same time, noble power across the continent was based on control over the land and on holding positions of social pre-eminence.⁶⁴

The early modern nobility was not tied down to modern national boundaries; studies have highlighted the dynamism of for instance French–Tuscan and Spanish–Sicilian noble links. In this vein, the Order of Malta, along with other military–religious orders such as that of St Stephen, created extensive networks among Christian nobles across the Mediterranean.⁶⁵ The study of the Order of Malta has been likened to a clasp that brings together ideas about the nobility with the experiences of the early modern period; it has also been described as a mirror in which it is possible to observe the development of the nobility in a particular society.⁶⁶ Significantly for the

historiography of nobility, this study reveals how Catholic aristocrats and nobles shared a common challenge in making suitable arrangements for their younger children. This had to be achieved in a way that protected and possibly augmented the patrimony, while seeking and granting patronage in the ongoing game for social positioning. The nobility looked to the Church as part of this strategy, and within this framework, the Order of Malta responded to these necessities. The Order, in fact, provided a highly respectable outlet for sons not earmarked for marriage, a masculine parallel to the convents, which housed the surplus daughters of the nobility.⁶⁷ These intricate links between the nobility and the Church meant that throughout Europe the nobility had an important role to play in initiating, protecting and opposing the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Furthermore, through religious convictions and expedients, nobles often belonged to networks that cut across conventional political and religious boundaries.⁶⁸

In this study, 'faith' refers to Christianity and in particular to Roman Catholicism; the Order was an organisation of the Roman Catholic Church and its members experienced and contributed to the processes of continuity and change that characterized early modern Catholicism. Like the concept of nobility, Roman Catholicism took many forms during the early modern period and the historiography of Catholicism is attempting to capture this variety.⁶⁹ It is now recognised that Catholic renewal predated Protestantism and the Council of Trent (1545–1547, 1551–1552, 1562–1563); the image of Trent has changed from a monolithic one to a contested, multifaceted, eclectic and incomplete event. Current areas of inquiry about the Counter-Reformation adopt longer time spans, reconsider the meaning of confessionalization, emphasize a reconsideration of the categories of 'elite' and 'popular' religion, focus on the multiple manifestations of devotion, acknowledge the strong participatory role of diverse men and women in Roman Catholic renewal, and incorporate more fully and critically considerations about the material culture of Catholicism.⁷⁰

The Counter-Reformation was characterized by a give and take, old and new, in which almost anyone could participate in the reinvention of Roman Catholicism. In this sense, the view of a rift between elite and popular religion has been replaced by one of convergence. There certainly were differences in the religious beliefs and practices of nobles and peasants, but these were more a matter of degree than of substance.⁷¹ Following the Council of Trent, the clergy in most places took a much more active role in forging and policing the beliefs and behaviour of people, but they also responded to the needs of the communities they were serving.⁷² The idea of

piety, in the sense of mentalities, values and sentiments, serves as a methodological approach that allows for a multi-faceted and more inclusive understanding of early modern faith.⁷³ Thus, participation in pilgrimages, processions and the liturgy, together with strong beliefs in material objects like images and relics as embodiments of the sacred, brought together Catholics of all backgrounds (including Hospitallers). Furthermore, studies that look at the overlapping of religion and magic show that here, too, distinctions between elite and popular do not hold, as people from all milieus (including Hospitallers) resorted to practices in which the boundary between orthodoxy and unorthodoxy was often blurred.⁷⁴

Processes of confessionalization constituted official endeavours by both secular and religious authorities to mould religious practices and instil discipline. For instance, in the case of Bavaria, religion permeated every aspect of life, including the state, which chose to adopt those religious institutions, practices and attitudes that were useful to it; however, such processes were participative rather than exclusive and responded to local/daily experiences.⁷⁵ In those places with mixed confessions or which lay on the border between different religions, the contours of confessional identity were more sharply defined, particularly through Catholic practices, devotions, rituals and art. Thus, in Malta and on their galleys at sea, the Hospitallers' identity as Catholics was vigorously asserted in the face of a hostile Islam. Conversely, in many German and Swiss Protestant areas, Hospitaller and Teutonic commanderies and houses managed to continue functioning through a pragmatic acquiescence that some Knights could become Lutheran and Calvinist. A contradictory situation developed whereby certain knights remained Hospitallers while adopting a new Protestant confessional identity.⁷⁶ What these instances highlight is the importance of looking at confessionalization and devotional practices along a spectrum that includes negotiation, reception and rejection. It is true that a Catholic elite initiated and promoted changes in Catholicism, but this elite was not homogenous and its members frequently disagreed. In the case of the Hospitallers in Malta, this was most evident in the split within the Order, especially in the first half of the seventeenth century, with regard to the Jesuits and their religious practices.⁷⁷

Gender was central to the way in which processes of confessionalization were experienced and are being recaptured by historians. Chastity, virginity, patriarchy and norms of behaviour for men and women were significant in forging ideas about Catholic identity, but such ideas were also regularly contested and adapted in the face of daily realities.⁷⁸ Gender permeates daily life and is a way in which social practice is ordered; it also

reveals strong continuities in social patterns.⁷⁹ The study of masculinity involves looking at men as gendered beings, with an emphasis on the relational aspect of history, that is, on studying the relationships between the sexes. It also means that gender emphasizes the inter-connectedness of those societies being investigated; how any sense of self is created in relation to one's social and material environments. Masculine and gender norms need to be considered within their local specificity; perceptions and experiences are culturally and socially constructed.⁸⁰ In the case of the Order of Malta, gender is about understanding how being male actually affected the Hospitallers: what meanings were ascribed to their maleness, how this was constructed, the repercussions of gendered language and the relation of gender to power.⁸¹

The use of the term 'masculinity' is at times contested when it is applied to pre-eighteenth-century contexts, because the actual term that was in use was 'manhood'. It is argued that ignoring the distinctions between the two words, and using them interchangeably, distorts pre-industrial meanings of being a man.⁸² Still, many studies about medieval and early modern men have used the term masculinity – by itself or interchangeably with manhood – in their quest to understand gender as an aspect of identity and the related issues of power.⁸³ In itself, a certain fluidity of terms is not negative and can in fact be illuminating when sensitivity to contemporaneous understandings and subjectivities is shown.⁸⁴ Both masculinity and manhood are used in this study because they both emphasize the contextual experience of being a man. 'Masculinity', as a word, has that political quality that is necessary to underline the central place of gender in this study; the term 'political' is being deliberately used here to emphasize the constructed dimension of masculinity and to indicate how meanings of manhood are forged through interaction with others and different forms of relations of power. At the same time, the application of the term 'masculinity' does not mean that modern usages are imposed on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century understandings; rather, early modern contexts, concepts and meanings are recognized and related to modern intellectual concerns. In the early modern mindset, religion informed everything, including meanings of manhood. Furthermore, the nobility from which the Hospitallers hailed had its distinct modes of behaviour. This is why this investigation about the Hospitallers looks at masculinity, in conjunction with faith and nobility.

The historiography of masculinity – particularly in Britain – has been highly influenced by sociologist R.W. Connell's classification of masculinities as being hegemonic, subordinate, complicit and marginalized. This has alerted historians to the varieties of masculinity that can exist and the tensions that

subsist between them.⁸⁵ Connell's model of hierarchical relationships between men is a useful conceptual tool, but it can also be too rigid, ignoring the variations and overlaps of the various expressions of manhood.⁸⁶ The particular utility of Connell's theories for this study about the Hospitallers lies in the emphasis on the relational aspect of masculinity, that is, in drawing attention to how men within the Order related to each other within a framework characterized by hierarchy, patriarchy and age. On the other hand, within the Order there were different and simultaneous dominant forms of manhood, rather than an overarching hegemonic masculinity.

In early modern Europe, the household-based model of masculinity is generally seen as the predominant state of manhood to which all men aspired.⁸⁷ Related to this, the costs associated with marriage and setting up a household steadily increased, so that the number of bachelors grew.⁸⁸ There were all kinds of men – university students in Cambridge, journeymen in Germany, apprentices in France, arsenal workers in Venice, migrant peasants from Galicia – who were excluded (permanently or temporarily) from the full benefits of patriarchal manhood by the inability to marry and/or independently govern a household. In each case, those excluded from the status of household masculinity turned such restrictions into the essence of their identity, both as individual men and as a group.⁸⁹ Nonetheless, it is crucial to recognise that marriage was not the ultimate goal for all men in their quest for recognition. In particular, in Catholic Europe, celibacy was still of fundamental importance and the value of a chaste life – even within marriage – was strongly upheld by the Catholic Church. Furthermore, throughout Europe, physicality and military prowess were fundamental attributes of a successful masculine identity.⁹⁰ Hospitaller masculinity was at a crossroads between these different strands. Being a Hospitaller meant that one was effectively outside the predominant household masculinity model, but squarely within notions of chastity and militarism as constitutive elements of an identity. Another key factor of an individual Hospitaller's masculinity was his belonging to a clearly defined group – the Order of Malta – with its strong corporate identity, military overtone and masculine image.

Conclusion

This study takes its cue from the historiographies of nobility, faith, masculinity and the Order, which it will expand further and develop. The vicissitudes of Christian–Muslim relations in the Mediterranean influenced

the Order's history, in particular the periodic relocation of its headquarters. The Order had a strong link to the sea, which acted as the main 'battlefield' for its incessant war against Islam; this brought in a constant stream of slaves to Malta. The presence of the Order on the island instigated a steady increase in the population and a rapid urbanisation centred on the harbour region. Taken together, all these processes contributed to the furtherance of an ethnically and culturally diverse society, particularly in the harbour cities. The nature of the Order as a landowner across Europe and as an institution made up of noblemen embedded it firmly in wider European developments; hence, its particular sensitivity to developments in France and the Papal States. The local Maltese setting (including the Inquisition) and the wider European situation interacted to form the dynamic backdrop against which the construction and experience of being a Hospitaller was formed and changed over the course of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In turn, the members of the Order managed their role and identity as Hospitallers through the interplay of nobility, faith and masculinity, which on a corporate, as well as on a personal level, acted as bearings to direct and guide their lives; similarly, these constitute the contours along which the following chapters unfold.

Chapter 1

Becoming a Hospitaller

*. . . for a multitude of gentlemen beseech us earnestly and rejoice exceedingly when they can place one of their children or of their friends in the Religion.*¹

These words were uttered by the celebrant as part of the reception and investiture ceremony when a man became a Hospitaller. Throughout medieval and early modern times, hundreds of men listened to these words and replied that with the help of God they wanted to become Hospitallers and maintain the ideals of the Order of St John. By the sixteenth century, the requirements to join the Order had become increasingly rigid, especially to enter the more important rank of knight.² This was because the higher offices came increasingly to be monopolized by noblemen, as well as because of the growing insistence from the Papacy for a proper novitiate system to be established. The aim was to have in place a system that would instil the virtues required of a true Christian gentleman into young prospective members of the Order of Malta. Rules came into being to deal with all of this, which were also flexible enough to allow for certain exceptions to be made. Aspiring Hospitallers underwent the novitiate that was required of all new entrants, which for some was preceded by a period as a page to the Grand Master. This chapter will explore the processes, experiences, and the semi-structured environment through which one became a Hospitaller.

Entry Requirements and Exceptions

While on Rhodes, the Order of St John refined its administrative machinery into a setup it would maintain when it transferred to Malta in 1530. Over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, its members were organized into *langues*, a term which referred to the groupings of different Hospitallers according to linguistic-geographical criteria. Originally there

were five *langues*, which gradually grew to eight, one for each 'nation' – Provence, Auvergne, France, Aragon, Italy, Castille, Germany and England – and they lived in buildings known as *auberges*.³ Despite this organizational refinement, up to the sixteenth century the Order does not seem to have had a novitiate system in place. Following the Council of Trent, the Papacy brought pressure to bear on all the religious orders, including the Order of Malta, to renew or institute a novitiate system. Pope Clement VIII wrote in such a spirit to Grand Masters Hughes Loubenx de Verdalle (1582–1595) and Alof de Wignacourt (1601–1622) to urge reform.⁴ Even before receiving these injunctions, the Order had been trying to deal with the issue of young entrants, particularly because of problems of lack of discipline. For example, in 1545, the Council of the Order decreed that no one under the age of 18 was to be accepted into the Order because there was a perception that juveniles could cause problems.⁵ However, the Order did receive persons under this age; the Chapter General, the highest authority in the Order when in session, promulgated regulations in respect of the novitiate, which attempted to strike a balance between maintaining an ordered entry system and novitiate, and satisfying the demands which Europe's nobility placed on it. This was no easy task for even someone like Pope Clement VIII, who on the one hand urged reform, on the other pressured the Order into admitting two young men who were born out of wedlock as if they were legitimate.⁶

The prerequisites to join the Order of Malta during the seventeenth century were legitimacy of birth, purity (that is to say, no trace of Jewish, Moorish or heretical blood), not being already professed in another order, being unmarried, having led a virtuous life, not being a debtor, being of the required age (at least 16), having been born within the jurisdictional remits of the *langue* within which one wanted to be professed and being of good physical and mental health and capable of bearing arms.⁷ Illegitimacy normally barred a person from membership of the Order. The Order's regulations, however, were flexible enough to accommodate such demands as might come up. Indeed in the Chapters General of 1612 and 1631, it was clearly stated that special arrangements were envisaged whereby the Grand Master could accept various minors – even illegitimate – into the Order, so that he could please those princes and authorities favourable to the Order. Similarly, German guilds had strict admission criteria to guarantee their exclusivity, but just as Grand Masters made exceptions to secure the goodwill of powerful patrons, so city councils could exercise pressure on guilds to secure civic harmony.⁸ Insight into this mentality is provided by Frà Giovanni Caravita, who held the key post of Secretary to the Treasury in

the late seventeenth century, and who produced a number of treatises on how the Order functioned.⁹ One of the treatises he produced dealt specifically with the reception of new members into the Order. In it, Frà Caravita gathered a compilation of the various ordinances that existed concerning the entry system. He differentiated between two 'species' of illegitimate children: the *naturali* and the *spuri*. The *naturali* were those children whose father could – at the time of their conception or birth – have been legally married. The *spuri* (derived from the Latin *spurius*, meaning illegitimate) were those children whose father could not – at the time of their conception or birth – have been legally married because, among other reasons, he may already have been married. Frà Caravita emphasised that although both *naturali* and *spuri* would normally be excluded from the Order, this prohibition could be waived if they were the children of kings and princes.¹⁰ Therefore, illegitimacy did not have to pose an impossible obstacle to membership of the Order, especially if the father or the family were sufficiently important.

On the other hand, nobility of birth, blood and descent were vital requirements for those that aspired to the rank of a knight of Malta. According to Frà Caravita, nobility was passed on to those children born after the father had acquired it. It could not be passed on to adoptive children, illegitimate children or the legitimate children of illegitimate children. Princes could, however, correct the illegitimacy of a child so that he could join the Order. Any fault done by the father that led to the loss of nobility could not be passed on to children born or conceived prior to such a loss, but it would affect those born or conceived after.¹¹ The meticulous approach of Frà Caravita to nobility was a reflection of the aristocratic nature of the Order, which in turn mirrored the socio-political structures of early modern European states that were dominated by the nobility. The continued prosperity of a noble family – and the noble estate, in general – hinged considerably on good planning by the head of a family in each generation. For this reason, the proper settlement of children in marriage or other options was crucial for a noble family's success.¹²

Those sons who were not first born, and were thereby excluded from inheriting the main title and lands, could be assigned to a variety of careers. The nature of the vocation, however, was hardly ever a simple matter of personal choice. It was rather a question of being a pawn in a wider family strategy, though the individual's agency in negotiating and reshaping such strategies should not be dismissed; in France, for instance, young noblemen could avail themselves of the concept of *naturel* (meaning having a personal temperament that would favour a particular calling) to negotiate

with their parents.¹³ Typical career venues for non-first born sons would have included service at a princely court, membership of a religious order and other career paths within the Church, the study of law and letters, and occasionally even medicine or becoming a notary; above all, younger sons across Europe became engaged in military careers.¹⁴ The individual nobleman was, broadly speaking, subordinate to the demands of the wider family or house, and the individual units of the larger kin network interacted together to secure the success of the whole.¹⁵ Where parents were missing, the eldest sibling took charge to ensure that these goals were met. Thus, in a 1604 letter to the Pope, Frà Filippo Cibo Sopranis explained how he had been orphaned and raised by his brothers, and how he had taken the habit of the Order when he was a baby.¹⁶ Some years later, the two brothers Giuseppe Alessandro and Amador Giovanni Battista de Rasilli were enrolled as minors into the Order by *Signor* de Rasilli, their 'first born brother'.¹⁷ Therefore, the Order provided a ready and most honourable solution to the problem of settling 'surplus' male offspring. When a man joined the Order, this in turn signalled that a noble family's pedigree was of the most distinct nature possible. The Catholic nobilities of Portugal, Spain, France and Italy shared this vision of the Order of Malta.¹⁸ Furthermore, membership of the Order was deemed a suitable ornament even for royalty: one of the most prominent members of the Order in the early seventeenth century was in fact Frà Alexandre de Vendôme (1598–1629), the third illegitimate son of King Henri IV of France from his mistress Gabrielle d'Estrées, and half brother to King Louis XIII (1601–1643).¹⁹

When Frà Giovanni Francesco Abela, a native Maltese who occupied the influential office of Vice-Chancellor of the Order, wrote the first book about the history of Malta, he emphasized in his introductory dedication how honoured Malta should feel at having become the seat 'of the most exclusive, and noble blood of Christendom'.²⁰ Similarly, the French translation of Bosio's *Historia* published by Jacques d'Allin as *Histoire des Chevaliers de l'Ordre de S. Jean* (Paris, 1659), stated that the Order was 'composed of the most pure and the most valorous Nobility of all the Nations of Christendom'.²¹ The Commander Jean Baptiste le Mariner de Cany, in his *Reflexions D'un Chevalier de Malte* (1689), emphasized how nobility of blood was associated with the Order of Malta.²² According to Frà Cesare Magalotti, in a letter addressed to the Pope, the Order of Malta was 'the flower of the most select, and the most eminent nobility of all Christendom'.²³ Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors were fascinated by the Order of Malta's history, character and composition and they emphasized the exclusive nature of the nobility that was required to

join this organization. There was an assumption that nobility of blood meant also nobility of spirit and virtue; the obsession with blood and its purity stood for the importance that the line of descent had for the early modern nobility.²⁴

During the sixteenth century the European nobility, the Italian in particular, adopted the values of *virtù* (virtue), *cortesía* (courtesy), *onore* (honour) and *dignità* (dignity or rank), which represented a synthesis of Aristotelian, humanistic, chivalrous and Catholic ideals.²⁵ These principles were reflected in the embellishment of the Hall of the Great Council of the new Magistral Palace in Valletta. Grand Master Jean l'Évêque de la Cassière (1572–1581) commissioned the Italian artist Matteo Perez d'Aleccio to record the great victory of the Hospitallers over the Ottomans in 1565 in a cycle of cartographic frescoes that goes round the whole perimeter of the great hall. This series fitted into an expanding European trend of using maps to represent a moralized geography that encapsulated political, administrative and religious power and authority.²⁶ In the space between each map and battle-scene, allegorical figures were inserted depicting virtues that emerged from the synthesis of the values of the European Catholic nobility. These figures were all female – a reflection of the fact that in Latin languages, abstract nouns are gendered feminine – but the virtues they represented were considered to be strictly male. The style is distinctly mannerist, a mode of expression reflecting aristocratic ideals and power.²⁷ They consisted of the three Theological Virtues of *Fides* (Faith), *Spes* (Hope), and *Charitas* (Charity); the four Cardinal Virtues of *Iustitia* (Justice), *Prudentia* (Prudence), *Fortitudo* (Fortitude) and *Temperantia* (Temperance); as well as another eight, *Felicitas* (with the attributes of Peace), *Religio* (Religion), *Nobiltà* (Nobility), *Perseveranza* (Perseverance), *Patienza* (Patience), *Virtù* (Virtue), *Vittoriâ* (Victory) and *Fama* (Fame). These frescoes predated by a few years the publishing of the influential book by Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (1593, 1603), which set the standard for the depiction of such allegories. Nevertheless, most of the frescoes conform to the stylistic and symbolic rules advocated by Ripa. Significantly, the one virtue that departs from these standards is *Nobiltà*, because the artist seems to have customized this virtue to indicate the aristocratic–familial nature of the Order of Malta (Figure 1.1); it is also the virtue most masculine in appearance.²⁸ *Nobiltà* was given the attributes of Athena, the Greek goddess of war, peace and wisdom; she holds a baton (symbol of military office) in her left hand, and in the right hand she holds up Nike, the winged goddess of strength, speed and victory. Significantly, Athena was a virgin warrior goddess, thereby mirroring the Hospitallers' image as religious knights who took the



FIGURE 1.1 Allegory of the virtue of *Nobiltà*, late 1570s/early 1580s, fresco, c. 270×110 cm. Palace of the President of Malta, Valletta (formerly the Grand Master's Palace). Acknowledgement: Rehabilitation Projects Office within the Ministry for Resources and Rural Affairs, Malta.

vow of chastity; the presence of Nike emphasizes the military and naval victories of the Order. Like Athena, *Nobiltà* wears a breastplate, which is decorated with a white cross over a red background; in this way, the attributes of Athena are Christianized in an allegorical figure that encapsulates not only the centrality of nobility to the Order, but also its military virtues.

In 1644, the Order established a Tribunal of Nobility: this entity consisted of commissioners whose duty was to advise the Council of the Order whenever doubts arose about the accuracy of the claims made by an applicant with regard to his nobility.²⁹ Under Louis XIV (1638–1715), ‘*recherches de la noblesse*’, a mechanism which paralleled the Order’s investigations into claims of nobility, was used as a means to control membership of the ranks of the nobility and to emphasize the role of the prince as the fountainhead of nobility; the Spanish Bourbon and Austrian Habsburg governments copied this idea.³⁰ Research into Hospitaller candidates was carried out primarily in the priories in Europe, but part of the Archives of the Order in Malta was dedicated to the ‘Proofs of Nobility’, which offer a unique genealogical cross-section of the European nobility.³¹ Applicants presented their proofs of nobility to Hospitaller officers in one of the European priories. As these proofs were considered to be practically the most important piece of documentation that had to be presented, the Hospitaller who received them could not be just any official; he had to meet certain criteria. There was a sense of the sacred attached to these documents and what they represented. The first requirement for a Hospitaller to receive this documentation was that he had to be at least a Commander. There were then other requirements, specific to the various *langues*: for example, in the French *langue*, he had to have ten years of seniority and five years of residence.³²

Besides the general requirements necessary to become a Hospitaller, there were also particular conditions that pertained to the various grades within the Order of Malta. The requirements for those that joined the Order as chaplains or servants-at-arms were less stringent, but although they did not necessarily have to be nobles, they had to hail from respectable families. In turn, this meant that most of the more important offices within the Order (including the grand mastership) were open only to knights.³³ In the wake of the Reformation, there was an effort to control the purity of blood of candidates and exclude non-Catholics from joining the Order. Nonetheless, a window of opportunity was left open to penitent heretics and to the Catholic children of heretics. These considerations were particularly observed within the German *langue*, where an applicant was specifically asked whether he was a Roman Catholic and whether he had ever been a heretic. If he answered that he had been a heretic, then he had to specify where and when he had abjured his heretical beliefs and become a Catholic.³⁴ In the case of Spanish applicants, the Order had to observe Spanish rules about *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood), which systematically excluded *moriscos* (converts from Islam) and *conversos* (converts

from Judaism) from various offices. The Society of Jesus in Spain had initially resisted excluding *conversos*, but by the 1590s it had to adopt some measures of *limpieza*; the same rules applied to the Spanish military orders, but exceptions were regularly made, particularly under royal influence.³⁵ Similarly, the Order of Malta placed restrictions but there were also possibilities: for instance, Juan de Venegas de Cordoba, who could not become a knight because of his Moorish ancestry, was instead granted the honorific title of Knight of Obedience and played a key role in promoting the cult of the Grotto of St Paul in Malta.³⁶ Thus, as in the case of legitimacy and illegitimacy, the statutes of the Order illustrate an ability on the part of this institution to accommodate itself to particular social, economic and regional circumstances, without compromising its image of exclusivity.

Becoming a Hospitaller was a complex and expensive business; there were various ordinances and statutes that had to be observed. In line with European trends where the 'how-to' manual was extremely popular, various 'manuals' (both manuscripts and published books) were produced to help aspiring Hospitallers prepare for their vocation and guide professed Hospitallers throughout their lives.³⁷ The best known Hospitaller guide was the *Ricordi* of Frà Sabba Castiglione, the younger cousin of the more famous Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529), author of *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (1528). The *Ricordi* was first published in 1546; by 1613 it had gone through 26 editions. Its purpose was to act as a roadmap for young men ascending the ranks of the Order, with its core message being that the most potent weapon for a Soldier of Christ was his faith.³⁸ Frà Castiglione's volume and others of a similar nature set out the model of the ideal Hospitaller, provided practical tips on how to live well and acted as gauges against which the daily experiences of Hospitallers could be measured.³⁹ The existence of this type of documentation is a further attestation of the popularity of the Order. Thus, the French Hospitaller Frà Anne de Naberat published a book called *Sommaires des privileges octroyez à l'Ordre de S. Jean* (1658), in which, among other things, he explained how the interrogations for the proofs of nobility were carried out, including a template image of what a family tree should look like for this purpose (Figure 1.2).

As is evinced in this image, the Order insisted that those applying to join its knightly ranks had to prove that they possessed at least four quarters of nobility on both of their parents' sides: in this context, 'quarters' meant that a candidate's four sets of great-grandparents had been nobles. An applicant had to prove that he was descended from three generations of nobles on both sides of the family. Heraldry and genealogy were, therefore, crucial aspects of the process of compiling a candidate's proofs of nobility

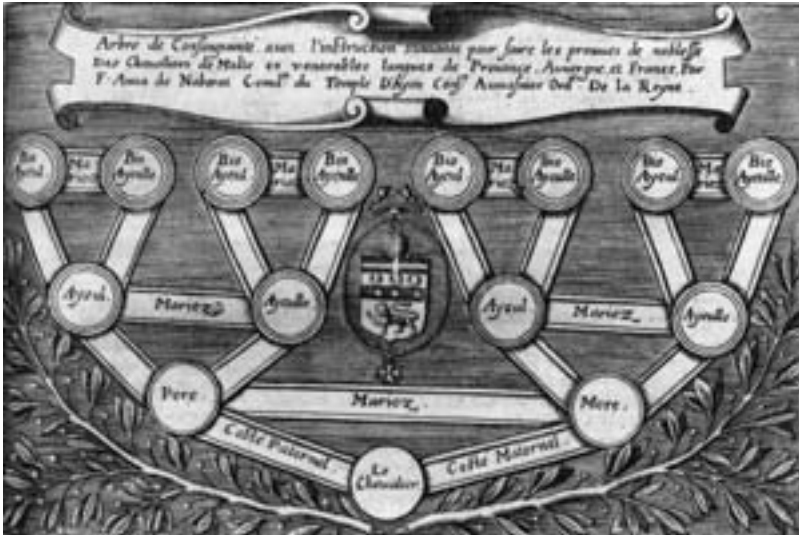


FIGURE 1.2 A template of a family tree for aspiring Hospitallers, 1658, engraving, 12.5×19.5 cm. Naberat, *Sommaires des privileges*, 163. Acknowledgement: © National Library of Malta.

and these instruction manuals went into considerable detail about a family's coat-of-arms: colours used, symbols included and other indicators.⁴⁰ One treatise traced the origins of the use of coat-of-arms to the Maccabees (members and supporters of an Old Testament Jewish priestly family who initiated a revolt against Antiochus IV Epiphanes, King of Syria, through which they were able to re-establish the independence of Israel) and the Romans, thereby illustrating how illustrious the possession of such emblems was.⁴¹ The National Library of Malta still holds an extensive collection of manuscripts about genealogy and heraldry, many of which originally belonged to individual Hospitallers: this reflects the importance that coats of arms and other heraldic emblems had as markers of strong personal and familial identities in an Order composed of the cream of Europe's nobility.⁴² In the case of the German *langue*, the quarters extended to include a candidate's great-great-grandparents, all of whom had to nobles.⁴³ The artist Wolfgang Kilian illustrated this when he produced 'A Family Tree of a Knight of Malta' (Figure 1.3). The branches holding the empty spaces where the coat-of-arms were to be inserted intertwine with the crucifix that stems from the niche where the emblem of the candidate would have been. Nobility was, thus, sanctified in the person of the crucified Christ. In the left hand corner, a knight in armour kneels in veneration, his



FIGURE 1.3 Wolfgang Kilian, Family Tree of a Knight of Malta, 1650, engraving, 12.5×16 cm. Osterhausen, *Eigentlicher und gründlicher*, insert (folded sheet) between 2 and 3. Acknowledgement: © National Library of Malta.

gaze fixed on the face of Christ, professing himself a Soldier of Christ. On the other side, in the background, can be seen a map of the grand harbour of Malta, a reference to the Order's Maltese headquarters and maritime mission. This image therefore provides a visual ideal of the synthesis of nobility, faith and masculinity within a Hospitaller context.

The French Hospitaller Frà de Cany also wrote some 'Instructions' about joining the Order which were considered to be useful enough to be translated into Italian. In the introduction to the Italian translation, aspiring young knights were extolled to read the Bible to find inspiration to overcome 'the many perplexities, that you feel in deciding about whether to make the solemn Profession into this Military Order, in which you have been subscribed since your tender childhood'.⁴⁴ This last comment reflected the fact that during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was a steady flow of minors being enrolled in the Order. As they grew older and the time of their formal entry into the Order approached, they had to figure out how the entry procedure worked and this is where such manuals would have been useful. One Hospitaller, who had been received as a minor, left a short anonymous reflection on his entry. He stated how he was received at the age of 7 through a dispensation of minor age that the Grand Master

was empowered to give. He recalled how in these his 'most tender years' he and others of his age 'assumed the yoke of obedience': that is, he and his contemporaries had learnt through experience the importance of obeying their elders as a way to move forward within the Order.⁴⁵ The conditions of his entry allowed him up to the age of 25 to finish his novitiate and he had to be professed by 26. At 12 years of age, his proofs of nobility had been presented by his relatives and by the time he was 18 he had completed his novitiate, as well as four *carovane* (terms of service on board the Order's galleys).

There were three 'ages' at which one could be received as a Hospitaller: *maggiorità* (adulthood, for those aged 16 and older), *paggieria* (pagehood, for those aged between 12 and 15), and *minorità* (minority, for those under 12 years of age). Parents and guardians who wanted to enrol their young sons into the Order had first of all to acquire a dispensation from the Holy See and present this to the Grand Master. They also needed to present a baptism certificate, which attested both to their faith and age. Under the impact of the Council of Trent, 16 was fixed as the age at which one could profess to become a religious person (including a Hospitaller), following a year-long novitiate.⁴⁶ This was necessary in order to ensure the preparedness of candidates, particularly young people, who formed a substantial number of those who joined or were enrolled in the Order. It was a way for the Roman Catholic Church to address the problem of forced monachizations, an issue that had been brought to the fore throughout Europe by the Reformation. One of the most widely circulated texts of the Reformation was in fact *Il Sommario della Santa Scrittura* (mid-1530s), penned by an anonymous author, in which forced vocations and monasticism in general were heavily criticized.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, Grand Masters Antoine de Paule (1623–1636) and Jean Paul de Lascaris Castellar (1636–1657) still received many applications from parents and accepted more than 100 minors between 1631 and 1657, the vast majority of whom were from France. Although age was specified in only two of these cases – one being 2 years old and the other one 10 years old – there was an overarching emphasis on the fact that they were all minors, and therefore obliged to pay the sum of 1,000 *scudi* to the Treasury.⁴⁸ From Italy as a whole, there were at least 12 minors between 1689 and 1692 who were accepted as Hospitallers; in the case of Sicily alone, out of 171 entry dispensations granted between 1543 and 1752, 42.1 per cent were for minority of age.⁴⁹ Membership of the Order and the enrolment of children within it continued to be popular well into the eighteenth century. Data from Aragon, Catalonia and Navarre for the period 1736 to 1796 show that out of 197 entrants, 68 per cent were

minors or pages. The average age of entry was 13, but the youngest candidate was only 2 months old.⁵⁰ With so many minors being enrolled into the Order, the problems of forced vocations and bad behaviour would not go away. In 1716, the Venetian Minister in Malta remarked on the presence of many disgruntled and undisciplined young men on the island who had been forced to join the Order by their families.⁵¹

Although wealth was essential for the maintenance of an appropriate lifestyle for the nobility, money was not a suitable topic of conversation in polite circles. Great noblemen and aristocrats, in particular, were expected to lavish expenditure on dress, hospitality, art and architecture. Family finances were administered with certain traditional ends in view: providing for the costs of marriages, funerals, dowries and military commissions for younger sons.⁵² The enrolment of a younger son into the Order of Malta represented one such endeavour. When a Hospitaller joined the Order, he entered into a financial relationship with its Treasury. This commenced when the Treasury felt satisfied that a candidate had met all of its financial criteria (and could, therefore, begin building up his seniority level) and lasted until his death.⁵³ Before profession, a Hospitaller had to pay the *passaggio*, an entrance fee, the amount of which depended on the rank to which the candidate was admitted: for knights and pages, 250 gold *scudi*; for minors, 1,000 gold *scudi*; for conventual chaplains and servants-at-arms, 200 gold *scudi*; for Knights of Obedience, 100 gold *scudi*; and for Knights of Devotion, 4,000 gold *scudi*. German applicants could benefit from reduced fees to all of these ranks.⁵⁴ The income that the Order received from the *passaggio* fees could be quite considerable, but it also fluctuated. In 1587, it generated an income of about 20,000 *scudi*, amounting to 9 per cent of the total income of the Order for that year; in 1630 this was about 24,968 *scudi*.⁵⁵ Upon paying their entry fee, minors were given a small eight-pointed gold cross to wear, which displayed their new status. When Hospitallers had their proofs of nobility verified by the Office of the Conservator of Nobility and Purity of Blood, they paid a small fee: five *scudi* if they were adults, fifteen *scudi* if they were minors.⁵⁶ Therefore, for a class that disdained money-talk, the whole process of enrolling a son into the Order entailed a lot of it; however, the effort and substantial financial investment that went into this were worthwhile because of the prestige dividend that was derived from it.

The *passaggio* was a payment which aspiring Hospitallers had to pay in order to join the Order. It was not, as in the case of women in convents, a religious dowry that was meant to sustain the nun during her lifetime. On the other hand, similarly to the religious dowry, the *passaggio* fee went

to the Treasury and could not be reclaimed by the applicant or his family.⁵⁷ In the case of male monastic orders, there does not seem to have been any established practice about payments to enter an order. Indeed, according to St Thomas Aquinas, it was 'unlawful to exact or receive anything as price for entering a monastery'.⁵⁸ Over the centuries, each community seems to have developed its own practice, according to local circumstances. This trend was confirmed by the Council of Trent, which stipulated that although the reception of a novice should be without payment, the different orders were allowed to ask a novice to pay for his expenses while in training.⁵⁹ In the case of the Order of Malta, it did not make novices pay for their own upkeep. On the contrary, it issued them (just as it did for its members who were without a commandery) with a yearly allowance for clothing and other needs known as the *soldea*, payable in March and September.⁶⁰ The *passaggio* originated within the setting of the Latin East, when prospective candidates were expected to present a horse to the Order. Since the Order in Jerusalem was primarily a land power dependent on cavalry, the donation of a horse represented a great financial investment in an asset that was quickly worn out in the harsh conditions of Palestine. At some point after 1440, the Order transmuted the nature of the *passaggio* from the presentation of a horse to a financial payment. According to Frà Caravita, this led many contemporaries to believe that the *passaggio* paid for one's maintenance, but he dismissed this argument as economically nonsensical. This point was further emphasized by the fact that the pages, despite paying a *passaggio*, did not receive any board or lodging from the Order, since they were not considered to be really enrolled with the Order at that point.⁶¹ The *passaggio* was also different from the system of *commende di padronato* existing in the Order of St Stephen. A *commenda di padronato* meant that a man could become a Knight of St Stephen and be supported from the income of an estate that was owned by someone else, generally the head of his family.⁶² Admittedly, some families gave estates to the Order of Malta for the erection of commanderies that could be held only by that family's members; however, this was done to preserve a family's control over specific territories, rather than as a form of support to individual Hospitallers, as in the case of the Knights of St Stephen.⁶³ In practice, the *passaggio* constituted an entry fee, which went against what St Thomas Aquinas and the Council of Trent had stipulated, but for Frà Caravita this contradiction was not an issue. He presented the Hospitaller *passaggio* as an application fee paid by applicants to help defer the expenses of the Order's activities, and as a development unique to the Order of Malta's particular nature and history.⁶⁴

The consolidation of the grip of the nobility over the Order of Malta was a reflection of its increasingly complete control over Church offices throughout Europe. Moreover, the focus of the early modern nobility was the court of the prince, the place where patronage and policy-making interacted. With its extensive estates spread across Europe, the Order was an integral part of many noble families' dynastic strategies.⁶⁵ Furthermore, nepotism in a Church institution like the Order of Malta was widespread. For example, in 1637, Grand Master Lascaris received his grandnephew Giovanni Paolo as a minor.⁶⁶ On 28 July 1614, the nephew of Cardinal Ascoli was accepted as a Hospitaller in the *langue* of Italy.⁶⁷ In another case, the Chapter General of 1631 accepted the 7-year-old nephew of the Prior of St John's Conventual Church and the 13-year-old nephew of the Vice-Chancellor of the Order, as chaplains.⁶⁸ The archives provide many instances of the sort of pressures that the Order was put under by the family strategies of the nobility in the form of patronage, outside interference and nepotism to ensure the admittance of their sons, clients or themselves. The following examples are indicative of the role that the Order was seen to play for those in power. The first focuses on Ranuccio Farnese, grandson of Pope Paul III (1534–1549). Ranuccio was destined for the Church and at 12 years of age he was installed as Commander of the Order's property of San Giovanni dei Forlani in Venice. To commemorate this event, in 1542 the Pope commissioned Titian to produce a splendid portrait of his grandson; housed in the National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C., the portrait of the young Ranuccio in a bright red costume donning a black cloak with the white cross of the Order is one of the most widely-known Hospitaller portraits.⁶⁹ In 1547, the same Pope also tried to bestow the Priory of Barletta in southern Italy to Ranuccio, which caused great consternation in the *langue* of Italy.⁷⁰ Another instance concerns the two sons of Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga (1516–1612) of Mantova, Francesco and Ferdinando. As the first-born, Francesco was to inherit the dukedom, whereas Ferdinando was destined for the Church. Accordingly, when 16 years old, Ferdinando was painted by Rubens wearing the black habit with the white cross of the Order; however, the sudden death of his elder brother in 1612 meant that Ferdinando had to renounce the habit of the Order and take up the title of Duke of Mantova instead.⁷¹

Patronage in early modern Europe was complex and extensive and the Order of Malta fell squarely within it and could not exist apart from it.⁷² In the first half of the seventeenth century, the Borghese and Barberini families, who between them secured a tight grip over papal power and patronage, dominated Rome. This state of affairs was reflected by a flow of

requests to the Grand Master and his Council in Malta to accept the protégés of these two families, particularly within the Italian *langue*.⁷³ Thus, on 5 September 1609, the Secretary of State, Cardinal Scipione Borghese (1576–1633) wrote to Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt, telling him that the Milanese Giovanni Battista Marliani was on his way to Malta, where he was to be received as one of his pages.⁷⁴ Six years later, the same Grand Master Wignacourt was again asked to accept another page by Cardinal Borghese: this time Giovanni Battista Ansidei from Perugia.⁷⁵ Similarly, in 1617, Grand Master Wignacourt wrote to Cardinal Maffeo Barberini (1568–1644; later Pope Urban VIII, 1623–1644) telling him that he was able to accede to his request of having Vincenzo Macchiavelli admitted into the Order by receiving him as one of his pages.⁷⁶ Soon after, a member of the Barberini family itself was received into the ranks of the Order. This was Antonio Barberini, nephew of Pope Urban VIII. In 1628, he was made a Cardinal and in 1634 the Pope bestowed on him the Order's Priorate in Rome. Like the rest of his family, Antonio was a patron of the arts and a contemporary engraving from the 1620s depicts a young man surrounded by hunting and battle scenes, which activities were strictly associated with the nobility and underlined the masculine prowess of the Barberini.⁷⁷

Portraiture was an important form of expression for the early modern nobility. It allowed for the public display of familial pride, and offered a means of conveying family feeling to unborn generations.⁷⁸ Thus, in the 1620s, the Flemish artist Giusto Suttermans and his workshop were commissioned by the Medici of Florence to make a series of paintings of their children. One of these was of Giovan Carlo de Medici, depicted when he was about 10 years old with the Hospitaller cross on his chest; on a table next to Giovan Carlo, Suttermans included an open book, which has been identified as Bonaiuto Lorini's *Le Fortificazioni* (Venice, 1609). The presence of this book, together with a sword, indicates his membership of a knightly Order dedicated to war. Copies of this painting were sent to the courts of Paris and Vienna.⁷⁹ In this instance, as in many others, portraits of Hospitallers by leading artists were not meant for the Convent in Malta, but as objects that served as status symbols in the sitter's residence or in other significant locations across Europe.⁸⁰

The production of portraits such as these of Ranuccio Farnese, Ferdinando Gonzaga and Giovan Carlo de Medici, convey a number of messages. They were meant to show how these families were rich and influential enough to be able to afford the best artists of the day to depict their family members. Moreover, as early modern portrait painters became increasingly fascinated with their subjects' personalities, they were able to convey a wide array of

feelings. Ludmilla Jordanova refers to the process of dressing, posing, setting a subject and the economic negotiations involved as ‘the portrait transaction’. This entails reaching an understanding of the intricate social relationships that existed between artists, patrons and sitters.⁸¹ In the case of these budding Hospitallers, the net of social relationships that was cast was wider than the artist-patron-sitter continuum. It consisted of a horizontal expanse taking in the values of the nobility as a dominant and privileged estate that experienced a strong impulse to commission, display and disseminate depictions of those they valued. It also involved a vertical span running along the Roman Catholic hierarchy, from the Pope down to the Grand Master of the Order of Malta, where these individuals found themselves enrolled in an all-male and highly exclusive military–religious institution. The portrait transaction involving young Hospitallers sheds light on individuals, families and institutions functioning within a social milieu defined by nobility, faith and masculinity.

The state of affairs drawn so far might give the impression that the process of enrolling or being enrolled into the Order of Malta was a smooth, one-way process where potentates played the tune and the Order had to dance along to it; however, such an assumption would be misleading, for the whole enrolment process was a multi-faceted and often contested one. Strenuous efforts were made on the part of Hospitaller officials to ensure that external pressures did not lead to a substantial departure from the requisite criteria for membership. At the same time, the Order tried to ensure that candidates for whom the rules of admission had been bent would further the political and economic interests of the Order itself. Thus, when Frà Francesco Lanfreducci Sr presented his young nephew Francesco Jr, who was about 8 years old, to be admitted as a minor into the Order, Grand Master Martin Garzes (1595–1601) imposed on Francesco Jr a number of conditions, which included the payment of an extra 300 *scudi*, over and above the usual *passaggio* of 1,000 *scudi*.⁸² At other times, the Order managed successfully to resist papal requests; thus, in 1582, Grand Master Verdalle told the Secretary of State that he could not assign the office of Treasury Procurator for the Priory of Lombardy to his candidate, Frà Castiglioni, because he had proffered that office to someone else (‘an Elder and well-deserving Knight’) before the letter from the Secretary of State had reached him.⁸³

The Order also had in place a discreet refusal procedure whereby those whose application was rejected would have all their documentation returned

to them in the strictest confidence. Given the close link between honour and nobility, the very act of investigating a claim of nobility constituted a serious challenge to family rank and personal standing; hence, just as acceptance into the Order meant a guarantee of one's nobility, so a rebuttal meant that one's nobility was not valid or good enough. No trace was left in the archives of the Order about this failure.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, those that had been excluded could hardly have received such a refusal with grace. Towards the end of 1688, Rome asked the Inquisitor of Malta Tommaso Vidoni (1686–1690) to report on the reasons that had led to Mgr Molina, Bishop of Levida in Spain, being told by the Order that members of his family could not be accepted into the rank of Knight of Malta. Inquisitor Vidoni, who believed that the Order had been justified in refusing members of the Molina family, explained to Rome what had happened. First of all, Bishop Molina was not of *Idaglia* stock. *Idaglia* or *Hidalguia* was the generic term for nobility in Spain, and had been defined in the Middle Ages as 'the nobility which descends to men through their lineage'.⁸⁵ Furthermore, his father had been a notary, a profession that was specifically excluded from joining the Order.⁸⁶ It was also irrelevant for this purpose that one of his brothers was a Knight of the Spanish Order of St James of Compostela because this habit had been granted to him as a special concession, and not because he was of noble birth. The Inquisitor concluded his letter by saying that the only option for members of the Molina family was to join the lower Hospitaller ranks as chaplains or servants-at-arms.⁸⁷

The pedigree of someone's nobility was a matter of institutional scrutiny, but it was also an issue with which individual Hospitallers were concerned since nobility, rank and seniority were intimately intertwined. The archives provide examples of Hospitallers challenging the nobility of applicants or new members. In 1584, some French Hospitallers challenged the proofs of nobility of Frà Gaspard d'Acton (who had enrolled into the Order in 1579) and to d'Acton's irritation, the Council of the Order gave them two years to present their evidence.⁸⁸ Some time later, a group of Italian Knights appealed to the Pope to overturn the decision by the Grand Master and Council to accept a certain Antonio Pappacoda as a Knight, because this would have humiliated their *langue*.⁸⁹ In another case, Carlo Mansousin, after having presented his proofs of nobility to the responsible Commissioners, faced the opposition of some knights from the *Langue* of Auvergne to his admittance.⁹⁰

Many Hospitallers felt particularly irritated at the way in which papal nominees were enrolled into the Order, disturbing established positions and hierarchies. Those who voiced criticism at such papal decisions were

investigated by the Inquisition: in 1656, the German Prior Frà Christiano Hauster Hausen declared: 'It has to be said that when one is elected Pope, the Devil must take possession of his soul'.⁹¹ Frà Christiano was reacting to the disruption in the distribution of commanderies that resulted from the admittance, by the Pope, of a number of youths into the Order. These sentiments reflected a situation where papal authority and protection threatened to suffocate the Order's very independence. Nonetheless, such outside interference did not go unchallenged. When Pope Urban VIII wanted to make the afore-mentioned Antonio Barberini Prior of Rome, the Italian Hospitallers in Malta got organized, and with the support of the other *langues* protested vehemently against this decision. Their objections were rebuffed, and Antonio was installed as Prior; however, he relinquished some commanderies in order to provide openings for other Hospitallers.⁹²

The process of becoming a Hospitaller was complex, tortuous and expensive. Outside influence and patronage had to be juggled with the needs of the Order itself and the rights of its members. Hospitaller officials had to balance reforming Tridentine requirements on the one hand, and the familial manoeuvres of the nobility on the other. Prospective candidates, even if they were the protégés of someone important, had to fulfil a number of requirements pertaining to their nobility of birth, blood and descent; even though some exceptions were made, many faced stiff opposition from other Hospitallers to such concessions. The existence of 'instruction manuals' about the Order, the production of portraits with young Hospitallers as their subjects, and the sheer numbers of those who applied to join it show how popular the Order remained with the nobility throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The series of examples presented above show how parental or family decisions – fashioned both by strategic dynastic considerations and some form of religious feeling – determined the fate of these boys, which often meant that at least a part of their upbringing would be carried out away from their families. In the case of those enrolled with the Order of Malta, this generally meant becoming a page and/or a novice.

Novices and Pages in the Order of Malta

In 1631, almost half of all Hospitallers came from the three French *langues*.⁹³ Developments in France, therefore, tended to have a very direct impact on the Order. According to the French historian Philippe Ariès, for much of the seventeenth century young Frenchmen were being sent to the academies,

where fencing, riding and the arts of war were taught. The academies developed to respond to the new concern of parents that their young sons should not be '[turned] loose without any preparation in the world of court and camp'; at the same time, the family and wider household continued to be at the heart of the education of young nobles, complementing institutionalized education.⁹⁴ Many French nobles also sought military training in Italy during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁹⁵ The decades after 1600 witnessed the foundation of a number of noble academies intended primarily to prepare aspiring officers for military careers. Such institutions were founded throughout France, Spain and Italy; many did not last long or else evolved into places that prepared an aristocrat for life at Court.⁹⁶ The Spanish Crown 'was almost obsessively concerned with the personal re-militarization of the nobility through the formation of a series of educational establishments to promote the military spirit and the requisite expertise'. There were guilds in the 1570s, noble academies under the Count-Duke Olivares (1587–1645), militias in the reign of Charles II (1661–1700), cadetships under Philip V (1683–1746), and military colleges under Charles III (1716–1788).⁹⁷ In Italy, until the end of the seventeenth century, the literary academies had a strongly aristocratic tone, and there were also Jesuit-run colleges for young nobles. In these colleges one learnt about communal living, fencing, dancing, theatre and other disciplines. In Venice, an academy was set up in 1619 in which the sons of less well-off nobles could be raised and trained.⁹⁸

The steadily increasing size and complexity of early modern state structures necessitated the recruitment of officials with the requisite skills and know-how.⁹⁹ The Order of Malta was never – at least explicitly – an academy or college for the training of state officials. In fact, throughout its existence it expected new entrants to be already proficient in the use of arms.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, the Papacy, France, Spain and various princes were well aware that the Order represented an accessible source of trained and experienced men. In Malta, the young were exposed to an environment where they learnt the practices of court and camp from elders who lived 'in the fashion of the *grandees* of France'.¹⁰¹ Many Hospitallers served their princes as naval or military officers, ambassadors, and even colonial governors.¹⁰² Thus, although the novitiate of the Order was in essence simply a system of religious and institutional formation, and not meant as a school where such dynastic/state requirements were to be met, Hospitallers were valued in Europe for the myriad expertise they gained as members of the Order.

Novices were persons who undertook a probationary period before taking religious vows. The Roman Catholic Church was keen to have proper

novitiate systems in place in its religious institutions. Anyone who wished to become a member of a religious house had to pass through a one-year period of probation, during which neither was the Order bound to the novice, nor the novice to the Order. It was the duty of the novice, under the guidance of a novice-master or the abbot, to form himself spiritually, learn the rules and customs of his order, and to try himself in religious life.¹⁰³ Unlike the Templars, the Teutonic Order and other male religious institutions, the Hospitallers did not have a novitiate during the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁴ It has been suggested that this was possibly due to the fact that a period of testing and training was not as necessary within a military order as it was in other religious institutions.¹⁰⁵ This argument does not, however, explain why the Templars and Teutonic Knights should have had a novitiate, and the Hospitallers not. It has also been argued that for those enrolled as children or adolescents, a novitiate would have been irrelevant because the decision of parents to enrol them was what counted.¹⁰⁶ This gives no scope to the role of agency in an individual's life, no matter how limited. The fact of the matter is that the sources for the medieval history of the Hospitallers do not contain any clear indication about this issue. This is strikingly different from the situation from about the mid- to late-sixteenth century, when, primarily under Tridentine influence, a novitiate structure came into being. The Council of Trent insisted that boys who were being prepared for a religious life should receive more rigorous training.¹⁰⁷

Considered alongside the novices were the pages of the Grand Master, pages being personal attendants to high-ranking persons. In fact, many of the injunctions that applied to novices applied equally to the pages. The pages, however, represented a more compact and distinctive group than the novices. First, unlike other under-age entrants, the pages were expected to be in residence in the Convent and to serve the Grand Master at all times. Secondly, whereas there was at any one time an indeterminate number of novices, the number of pages was restricted by statutes and Chapters General, although the number of pages permitted to the Grand Master actually trebled over the period 1530–1798. The Chapter General of 1612 ordered the increase of the magistral pages from eight to 16. Their age range was to be from 12 to 15, at which point they could proceed to do the novitiate and it was specified that their seniority would start upon the commencement of their actual duties towards the Grand Master.¹⁰⁸ These measures were confirmed in the Chapter General of 1631; in 1776, their number was increased to 24.¹⁰⁹ The purpose of the magistral pages was to serve the Grand Master within his household. The reception of a page had to be noted down in the records of the Chancery or in the Book of the

Master of the Pages. A page could hail from any nation and be eligible for the grade of a knight or a servant-at-arms; however, they tended to be of knightly rank.¹¹⁰

Despite the increasing emphasis on the training of young noblemen in academies and elsewhere, in 1629, the Council of the Order remarked that many aspiring Hospitallers were arriving from France earlier than they were expected to be in Malta, without permission, and largely unprepared for the life that lay before them. Clearly, many noble parents believed that their sons would receive the necessary training in Malta. In response to this situation, Commissioners for the Novices were appointed to draw up the necessary measures.¹¹¹ According to Pope Clement VIII's Constitution *Cum ad regularem* of 19 March 1603 (renewed under Pope Urban VIII in the Decree *Sacra Congregatio* of 1624), novices had to live separately from older religious.¹¹² The Commissioners, in fact, planned to establish a house for novices of every *langue* where training could be provided under due scrutiny of a senior member of the Order; however, this initiative came to nothing.¹¹³ Instead, in 1631, it was decided to establish three houses for novices in the ranks of knights and servants-at-arms of the nations of France, Italy and Spain. Another establishment, the *Canonica*, was set-up for the priestly ranks. Overseeing the three houses for novices would be a Commissioner or Governor appointed by the Council of the Order. His duty was to 'govern' the novices and provide them with their daily needs.¹¹⁴ In effect, through the Commissioner for Novices, the Order took upon itself the role of 'corporative parent' of aspiring and young Hospitallers. As in any parent-child relationship, this was characterized by both conflict and co-operation, but these arrangements were maintained, as Commissioners for Novices are regularly mentioned in the documentation down to 1776.¹¹⁵

Many Hospitallers took the novitiate and its requirements seriously. Thus, around 1590, an anonymous tract was presented to the Pope by a Hospitaller in which he criticized the administration of Grand Master Verdalle for its mismanagement and abuse of the novitiate. He accused the Grand Master of bestowing on a daily basis the habit of the Order to persons who had not done the novitiate and who were not always worthy of receiving it.¹¹⁶ In this case, the seriousness with which a Grand Master observed the novitiate became a measure of his character as a leader. Moreover, just as some aspirants or Hospitallers found that their noble pedigree was questioned and challenged, so some of them had the correctness of their novitiate scrutinized. In about 1650, the profession of the Knight Pietro Corsini was being considered as null because his novitiate was seen

as not having been appropriate. It was expected that he would have to redo his novitiate for his profession to count. According to this document, for a Hospitaller vocation to be considered as genuine, it had to be tested prior to profession, during the novitiate, and continuously during one's career after formal profession.¹¹⁷

The Council of Trent stated that no one could become a Hospitaller without having passed through a year of probation at the Convent, for this was a time when the candidate could 'prove himself worthy of the grace to which he aspired'.¹¹⁸ If a novice was brought before a secular tribunal, he could not claim immunity because he was not as yet a member of the Order.¹¹⁹ In a similar vein, a novice's assets remained his own, because he was not yet a religious, which was a point emphasized by the Council of Trent. The main reason for this was to ensure 'the liberty of the Novice, that he be not impeded from leaving the Religion and obliged to make his profession in order not to see himself despoiled of his possessions'.¹²⁰ Once professed, a novice brought into the Order all his personal property. The working principle here was *Quid quid acquisit Monachus, Monasterio acquisit*, meaning that any property, both mobile and immobile, which a novice failed to dispose of prior to his profession, was transferred to the Treasury upon his death (a process referred to as the *spoglio*). Beneath this blanket rule, the statutes of the Order allowed for a certain individual flexibility: in practice, Hospitallers could dispose freely of one-fifth of any movables that they enjoyed and any house in Valletta, Vittoriosa and Senglea which they personally owned.¹²¹ In the case of a Hospitaller inheriting an estate and title through rights of primogeniture, and whenever a Hospitaller received something after his profession, this also became the Order's property. Nevertheless, after the death of a Hospitaller who benefited from primogeniture, this would pass on to the next person entitled to it.¹²² In this way, the Order as an institution benefited from the income of primogeniture status and property for a determined period of time, after which the title would pass out of its jurisdiction, thereby contributing to the preservation and continued prosperity of the noble estate.

The novitiate of a Hospitaller consisted of three components: participation in Holy Sacraments, the practice of hospitality towards the infirm and training in the use of weapons at least twice a week.¹²³ Hospitality was an important element of monastic tradition. Through hospitality monks were able to witness two complementary faces of Christ: Christ as the weary traveler who needs somewhere to stay and Christ as the generous host welcoming the needy.¹²⁴ In the case of the Hospitallers, hospitality had been at the

heart of their foundation, and in early modern times its most practical manifestation was the running of a sophisticated hospital, or Holy Infirmary. Here, all who fell ill were treated as if they were Christ himself, all cutlery and utensils being made of silver. A weekly timetable was observed, whereby all Hospitallers in the Convent, especially the novices, were to serve the sick.¹²⁵ It was emphasized that novices had to spend a substantial amount of time serving at the Holy Infirmary. If novices were away from Malta, they still had to gain proficiency in the use of arms, pray, and serve the sick; in Rome, for instance, novices had to serve the sick at the Hospital of the Holy Spirit every Friday.¹²⁶ One of the more popular semi-allegorical representations of the Order was that of the Blessed Gerard (considered as the founder of the Order) serving the sick in the Holy Infirmary (Figure 1.4).



FIGURE 1.4 The Blessed Gerard serving the sick, accompanied by a novice, 1695, engraving, 14×9.5 cm. Bosio, *Historia*, 56. Acknowledgement: © National Library of Malta.

The infirmary depicted in such representations was not a specific, historical location; rather it was symbolic of the curative mission of the Hospitallers. The iconography of these images included a young unbearded novice carrying a plate in his arms, assisting the haloed Gerard in administering to the sick. This was a visual representation of what the novices were expected to do in practice. It was crucial to get new entrants used to a place that was so important to the prestige and the very identity of the Order itself, and this was done through instructions, performance and images.¹²⁷

An important aspect of the life-cycle service of Hospitaller novices was the hands-on training they received on board the galleys of the Order.¹²⁸ A *carovana* was a period of six months on board the galleys which every Hospitaller had to undergo if he was to progress to gain office, and each Hospitaller was expected to perform four *carovane*. For the novice, this was like an apprenticeship of how to be a Hospitaller at sea. Maritime life opened up new vistas for those who participated in it. Despite the cramped and often inconvenient living conditions on galleys, they also provided a certain personal religious freedom.¹²⁹ Thus, while on ventures in the Levant, many neglected to observe the rules of abstinence and ate prohibited foods on proscribed days. The eyes of the Inquisition, however, were always on the lookout, and it is through these documents that the experiences of novices at sea can be reconstructed.¹³⁰ Thus, in 1642, the novice Roberto de Pinzorola was reported to the Holy Office for his continuous blaspheming while gambling on board a galley. Each time he lost, he was heard saying 'I renounce God with a faithful heart[!]', 'blood of God[!]', 'bowels of God[!]', and 'the death of God[!]'.¹³¹ Fully aware of the potential disciplinary problems that gambling caused on board the galleys, the Chapter General of 1631 had prohibited games of chance; this prohibition, however, was rarely observed.¹³²

Each galley of the Order had on board a chaplain to cater to its religious needs and these priests seem to have served as one of the more regular sources of information for the Inquisitors about what went on at sea. For instance, in 1677, the Reverend Josepho Magri described to the Inquisitor how the French novice Musu Cugni had continuously been reading prohibited books in French while on board the galley. The said novice had also declared that he did not believe in miracles, the saints or the sacrificial aspect of the Mass. According to Reverend Magri, Musu Cugni was a follower of Jansenism, a theological perspective that was not approved by the Catholic Church.¹³³ Some years later, another two French novices called Boie and la Motta were also reported by their galley priest for denying papal authority, the intercession of saints and the existence of purgatory.

They also ate meat indiscriminately.¹³⁴ Despite the prevalence of such unorthodox beliefs and behaviour, the Inquisitors recognized the importance of this formative period for aspiring Hospitallers. In fact, when on 16 February 1700, the leading vessel of the Order, the *Capitana*, was shipwrecked near Capo Passero in Sicily, leading to the loss of almost 700 men, Inquisitor Giacinto Filiberto di Messerano wrote to Rome about this disaster and lamented, in particular, the loss of life of the novices and younger cadets who were ‘the flower of the youth, and nobility of Europe’.¹³⁵

Work and play are inter-related aspects in the acquisition of culture and official injunctions from Rome specified that novices were to have a certain amount of recreation.¹³⁶ The problem – from the Church’s perspective – was that most novices and pages ended up joining in the bad habits of their elders, particularly gambling. They partook in group activities and emulated a form of masculinity that was generally disruptive in character.¹³⁷ For instance, Frà Claudio de Bens, a nephew and page of Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt, won a holy object called an *agnus dei* at a game of cards or dice. This holy object had gone missing about three years earlier from in front of the highly venerated image of the Madonna of Philermos in St John’s Conventual Church.¹³⁸ Some years later, the novice Monsieur Lignara of Auvergne was reported to the Inquisitor for blaspheming during games of dice. Each time he lost, he exclaimed, ‘I renounce God[!]’.¹³⁹ Relations with women, and courtesans in particular, represented another sort of undesirable behaviour on the part of young Hospitallers, which was condemned. When he was 21 years old, the novice Jacobo Javer of Auvergne went to the Inquisitor to denounce himself. He said that when he had been 18 years old and living in France, he had learnt some love magic that could lure a woman by using phrases from the Bible and writing down the woman’s name.¹⁴⁰ This sort of behaviour fitted in with contemporary ideas about humours and heat in the different ages of man, so that youth was seen as the ‘hot’ – and therefore disruptive – phase of life. Thus, managing the younger members of the Order – novices, pages, and those in their early career – posed serious logistical and disciplinary problems for the Order.¹⁴¹ Measures had to be drawn up to rein in the spirits of these often-troublesome youth. In order to minimize their potential for disruption, minors were precluded from voting within their *langues* before they turned 18.¹⁴² This meant that they could not have an official voice in the running of the Order. Rules were also drawn up to control behaviour in the *auberges*: no dogs could be kept in an *auberge*, no one was allowed into the kitchen or the food dispensary without the appropriate permission, and no one was to beat up insolent servants.¹⁴³

Service to the infirm, time spent at sea, as well as forms of recreation were crucial for the formation of new Hospitallers. It allowed the novices to take on board formal and informal ideals and values of more experienced Hospitallers, as well as allowing them to forge their own character. Psychologist Albert Bandura defined this practice as observational learning. Through this process, people (particularly younger ones) observe and learn role models, which in turn mould their own form of behaviour. This was a fundamental aspect of the socialization and acculturation of candidates and new Hospitallers who were thus introduced to the distinctive way of life of the Order with the aim of making them effective players within the organisation.¹⁴⁴

For European noble families, particularly in France, placing their boys in a prestigious – or even the royal – household was an effective way of introducing them to the world.¹⁴⁵ Sending young boys to Malta to act as pages to the Grand Master represented a natural extension to an established pattern, and many Hospitallers commenced their actual service within the Order in this manner. One such Hospitaller was the Italian Frà Opizio Giudotti, who arrived in Malta on 30 June 1582 and entered the household of Grand Master Verdalle as one of his pages. He then went on to have a highly distinguished naval career in which he gained many offices and commanderies.¹⁴⁶ As part of their duties towards the Grand Master, pages carried out various tasks. It is recorded, for instance, that Grand Master La Valette was generally accompanied by two young pages throughout the duration of the Great Siege of 1565; one carried his helmet and shield, and the other one a pike.¹⁴⁷ In 1575, the Apostolic Delegate, Mgr Pietro Dusina, noted that when Grand Master la Cassière was at table or attended a council meeting, he sat under a baldachin, where he was served by 12 noble pages who brought food to the table.¹⁴⁸ At times, one of the pages was also responsible for tasting the food of the Grand Master before he dined. In 1598, a solemn ceremony was held in St John's Conventual Church when a glass pane that stood in front of the venerated icon of the Madonna of Philermos was removed. The Grand Master presided over this event, which included a play acted out by pages dressed up as angels, in which they told the story of the miraculous icon.¹⁴⁹ The *Cavallerizzo Maggiore*, the third most important household officer in the Grand Master's Palace, oversaw the training of pages with regard to horses and carriages and had overall responsibility for their training and conduct.¹⁵⁰

Pages were regularly depicted alongside the Grand Masters, usually within a domestic milieu. For instance, in a series of biographical frescoes

that depict the life of Grand Master Verdalle in the palace he built in the Maltese countryside, it is possible to discern a number of pages carrying out their duties of service to the Grand Master.¹⁵¹ As part of his analysis of the role of pages in early modern Europe, Ariès looked at a number of paintings, including Caravaggio's portrait of Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt, accompanied by a page carrying his helmet (Figure 1.5).¹⁵² The costume of the page of Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt followed French fashion, with baggy breeches and false sleeves. The Grand Master wore a heavy suit of armour, the helmet alone being the size of the whole upper body of the page; Ariès emphasized in particular the small stature of the pages in these paintings. He argued that this painting and similar ones showed how



FIGURE 1.5 Nicholas de Larmessin, after Caravaggio, Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt and page, 1729, engraving, 41×26 cm. *Recueil d'Estampes*, Vol. 2, Plate 92. The engraving reproduces, in reverse, Caravaggio's portrait of Wignacourt, 1607–08, oil on canvas, 194×134 cm, now in the Louvre, Paris. Acknowledgement: © National Library of Malta.

‘wherever people worked, and also wherever they amused themselves . . . children were mingled with adults. In this way, they learnt the art of living from everyday contact’.¹⁵³ Although it is debatable whether such portraits are the best examples to draw such general conclusions from, it is clear that pages were kept close at hand by the Grand Masters. Two of them always accompanied the Grand Master when he left the palace and when he heard Mass. Pagehood complemented chivalry; the knight in shining armour has for long been considered as representing the quintessence of being male and this was tied to ideas of strength, endurance, a controlled-sort of aggression and distinctness from the female and the childish.¹⁵⁴ Pages served the Grand Master and other knights by providing practical services; at the same time, these visual representations of adult men with facial hair, accompanied by young unbearded boys, served to emphasize the difference between adulthood and childishness.

According to Ariès, the page’s uniform was among the first purely military uniforms in France, and it was also ceremonial. It was aimed for the use of young boys of noble birth who were placed with families for whom they performed certain domestic services. Though over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the system of pagehood may have declined as a path to a military career, noble parents continued to place their young boys at the prestigious service of the Grand Master of the Order of Malta.¹⁵⁵ During pagehood, parents were expected to pay for their sons’ education, costumes, and sometimes even beds, table linen and food.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, the return from such a placement was mainly in the form of prestige capital and an assurance of their child’s eventual enrolment in the Order. The Grand Masters, in turn, enjoyed these services and they must have been aware of the diplomatic leverage that could result from having in their personal retinue children from various European noble families.

Clothing delineated affiliations and power structures in a uniquely public way; it stood for notions of allegiance, social relations, propriety and godliness. Body posture, the style of clothes, and the sense of how one looks in them are ‘not just individually determined but also inwardly conceived as conforming to a general image that everyone agrees is natural and acceptable to look at’.¹⁵⁷ The habit of the Order was black with a white eight-pointed cross (red was worn instead of black during combat).¹⁵⁸ The Grand Masters were generally depicted in a very austere manner, wearing either a suit of armour or their simple black habit. In contrast, the pages were bedecked in colourful and elaborate costumes. The simplicity of the Grand Masters’ attire was meant to reflect their manly and religious virtues: piety, sobriety, modesty, dignity and temperance. By contrast, through being served by pages wearing beautiful colourful costumes, the Grand

Masters could manifest their power, wealth and pre-eminence without appearing as overbearing or overindulgent. The costumes of the pages, though not being livery in the strictest sense of the term, gave them a collegiate identity as members of the Grand Master's entourage.¹⁵⁹ The attire of the pages connected them in a highly visible manner with the ceremonies and the particular institution represented by the Grand Master. The appearance of pages in ceremonial clothes was like a public reading, carefully thought out to draw admiration onto them, which in turn was associated with the Grand Master.

The process of growing up occurs in stages, with each stage having its own particular characteristics and a set of transitions that mark the movement from one stage to the next. Each transition is shaped by biological, cognitive, social and emotional changes.¹⁶⁰ Joining the Order of Malta was one such transition, involving a highly visible rite of passage that signaled the move for young noble boys into knighthood and adulthood. After a boy or young man had fulfilled all the requisite criteria to join the Order – including the novitiate and possibly being a page – the process of becoming a Hospitaller reached its climax through the reception and investiture ceremony.¹⁶¹ The novice had to find a professed Hospitaller to carry out the function of receiving him and a priest of the Order to celebrate Mass.¹⁶² The request for profession went as follows:

When he is about to be received, whosoever shall receive him as a brother should say to him: 'Good friend, you ask for the company of the House, and with reason, for a multitude of gentlemen beseech us earnestly and rejoice exceedingly when they can place one of their children, or of their friends in the Religion. And if you have the desire to be in so excellent and so honourable a Company, and in so holy a Religion as that of the Hospital you have reason. And though it be that you see us well clad and with fine chargers and all things for our comfort, you are warned that when you would eat, it will be necessary to fast, and when you would fast it will be necessary to eat. And when you would sleep, it will be necessary to watch, and when you would watch it will be necessary to sleep, and you will be sent this side [the sea] and beyond to places where you will not wish, and it will be necessary to go there. And so it will be necessary to abandon all your own desires to do those of another, and the other hardships that it will be necessary to endure in the Religion are more than I can tell you. Are you willing to endure all these things?' He should reply: 'Yes, if it pleases God'.¹⁶³

This was a formidable statement of the Hospitaller's identity and mission. It was an institution for 'gentlemen', that is, an organization based on exclusivity. This declaration also made it clear that a Hospitaller's life was constituted of both comfort and unease, but with the help of God it could be fulfilled. Certain items were particularly important in carrying out a proper investiture. One of them was the Missal. This was brought forward and the candidate, while holding his hands over it, took an oath to God, the Virgin Mary and St John the Baptist to live and die for his Order in accordance with his vows and the statutes, and to be a servant of the sick and the poor.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, during the ritual, the novice held a candle in his hand as a symbol of charity, the flame representing God's abundant love for all, and the will of the newly ordained Hospitaller to shine in the service of God and the Order.¹⁶⁵ The object that held the most significance was the sword, which was blessed during the rite. God was thus providing the sword to the knight, in order to wield it for the glory of the most high with faith, hope and charity.¹⁶⁶

In Emil Kraus's book about the German Count George Albert of Erbach, who visited Malta in around 1614, there is a detailed description of the investiture of a Hospitaller.¹⁶⁷ The relatives and friends of the young knights-to-be were allowed to attend the service. The novices were clothed in long white garments, had belts around their waists, and bent on one knee before the altar. They also carried lighted tapers.¹⁶⁸ Among other things, the Grand Cross (a high-ranking official within the Order) carrying out the ceremony said to them:

Maintain the character of a spiritual Knight in chastity and honour, as our profession and regulations require of you. In virtue of these I now gird this sword on you, for as this belt enables you to carry the weapon firmly at your side, so you should be bound by chastity to extinguish all evil lusts, to keep yourself pure throughout your life, as long as God in his grace shall give you life.¹⁶⁹

The belt that is meant to carry the sword with which a Hospitaller was to protect himself from physical harm was also described as a chastity belt that was meant to shield the Hospitaller from the harms of the flesh. The new entrants were then given a cloak that was compared to their patron saint's camel hair shirt, which was meant to admonish them to true repentance and contempt for the vanities of this world. They were also enjoined to wear their white eight-pointed cross on their left-hand side, so that their hearts would always be close to the Cross of Christ. After the investiture

ceremony, the new knights were invited to a banquet at the Grand Master's palace an hour before sunset, after which they went to the infirmary to serve the sick.¹⁷⁰

All the elements mentioned above – Missal, candle, sword, white garments – can be observed in the detailed image in Figure 1.6. The ceremony was being overseen by the Crucified Christ (in the centre of the background) and by St Paul (in the top left-hand corner). The Grand Cross presiding over the ceremony holds an open Missal on his lap, while with his outstretched arms he is presenting the candidates with their stole. The aspirants, attired in long (white) tunics, in turn, gaze intently at these and



FIGURE 1.6 'The Reception of Brothers', 1588, engraving, 18×14 cm. *Statuta Hospitalis Hierusalem*, 4. Acknowledgement: © National Library of Malta.

hold out their arms ready to receive them. The two Hospitallers kneeling just behind them hold in their hands horse stirrups, a symbol of the chivalrous nature of the Order and continued importance of the cavalry for the nobility's prestige. These stirrups were made of gold and would be placed on the candidate's feet as part of the ceremony to symbolize how a Hospitaller would always despise riches and avarice.¹⁷¹ Positioned in a diagonal manner from each other, one Hospitaller holds up a sword, whereas the other holds up a lighted candle, symbols of the military-religious profession that the newly ordained have attained. The kneeling candidates themselves hold their recently blessed swords at their side. Almost every age is represented in this image, from the very old Grand Cross to the young boy holding a book standing just above the third candidate. In this way, the image becomes an allegory of the 'ages of man' and of age relations within the Order. During this official ritual, the various individual elements combined to create a composite whole and visual spectacle that emphasized the significance of this rite of passage from a youth to a man, and more importantly from a man to a Soldier of Christ.

Conclusion

The engraving in Figure 1.6 was topped by a Latin motto: 'Let us be clothed with the new man with it [or] in it'.¹⁷² This is an adaptation of St Paul's letter to the Ephesians (Eph. 4:22–4) in which he encouraged them to put on a new self in the image of God: a self characterized by righteousness and holiness. A new man was thus born as a result of a profound change in his life. In his 'Instructions', Frà de Cany wrote that 'with the Habit of a Knight one came to be dressed up as a new man'.¹⁷³ Becoming a Hospitaller, that is, putting on the habit of the Order, had the ability to regenerate a human being, leading to inner spiritual renewal and engendering a moral transformation in its wearer. The process that led to this climax was intricate: it involved proving that an individual could meet the necessary entry requirements, or that he had the capacity to benefit from exceptions to the rules. Following admission as a page or novice, there were more or less structured procedures to be followed to progress in the ranks; however, this was not a smooth process. It was rather an environment where elements of compliance and misrule – licensed, deliberate or tacit – were combined.

According to Ariès, an embryonic form of adolescence was emerging through the placement of young people in institutions like the novitiate

and pagehood of the Order; this was a concept hitherto unknown. Such theories about the emergence of adolescence at some distinct point in time have generally been replaced by more nuanced analysis of perceptions and experiences.¹⁷⁴ In the early twentieth century, adolescence was identified and institutionalized as a distinct stage in life and subject for scientific enquiry; nonetheless, prior to this, it had already long been recognized that the shift from childhood to adulthood constituted a time of difficult adaptation for young persons and those around them.¹⁷⁵ The success or failure of young men seeking to establish themselves in the world reflected a father's ability to properly raise a son.¹⁷⁶ Those fathers who enrolled their sons into the Order had to deal with the contradiction that, in so doing, they were assigning to them a different gender identity from their own. Instead of being patriarchal heads of households, they were becoming chaste religious knights. The life experiences of novices and pages were shaped within non-familial institutions, organized and run for the most part by adult males who replaced parents in organizing these young people's lives. The adolescents that went through the novitiate and pagehood systems of the Order were socialized into becoming part of a particular and very exclusive male, noble and religious European subculture. Their lives as part of this world were defined in relation to other men, both their age-fellows and their elders. The Order of Malta was, therefore, like a stage where adolescent boys and young men acted their parts in-between the brackets of conformity and reaction, until they grew into a life role of their own within the ranks of the Order and in due course joined the office-holding elders.

Chapter 2

Hospitaller Ranks: Hierarchy, Patriarchy and Age

Once enrolled, a Hospitaller would seek advancement within the ranks of the Order. This quest for status was shaped by the hierarchical, patriarchal and age elements that shaped the structures of the Order, as well as by outside influences, in particular, interference from the Pope and other princes. The particular nature of the Order as a multi-ethnic institution dedicated to the defence of Christendom, at a time of increasing religious plurality among Christians and when national/territorial states were taking shape, placed it and its members in a somewhat anachronistic situation in Europe. On the other hand, as a religious and aristocratic institution that mirrored the wider societal hierarchy of estates, the Order reinforced the dominant noble, male and Christian values of the era.¹ The ranks of the Order were about structuring distinctions between men within a male world that rarely made any reference to women; these were imbued by and supported a hierarchical and patriarchal system in which rank, age and seniority were defining features. Such structures were characterized by both positive and negative relationships among their members, contributing to the creation of a dynamic environment.²

Organizational Structures

The military-religious orders were ‘corporations of religious within the Roman Church whose special function was to oppose the infidel or pagan’.³ In 1798, as in the eleventh century, the lives of the Hospitallers were shaped by the offices of the day and the calendar of the liturgical year.⁴ According to Jonathan Riley-Smith, the Hospitallers:

were members of a religious order, restricted by the vows of obedience and celibacy, subject to a rule of life which was strictly enforced. They were

bound, like any religious, to fast at times of the year and to attend mass and the customary monastic hours. . . . They fostered veneration for their own saints – especially Hugh of Genoa, Ubaldesca, Fleur and Toscana – and devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St John the Baptist.⁵

The Order was a ‘republic’ of aristocratic Christians who referred to each other as ‘brother’, addressing one another with the epithet ‘Frà’, and used the city of Valletta as their ‘Convent’.⁶ The term convent denotes a religious community of either sex when spoken of in its corporate capacity, as well as the buildings in which it resides. In English, convent is more closely associated with female religious, however the Hospitallers had their own particular understanding of the term. It was first mentioned in 1140 and was applied to any house where the brethren resided permanently; however, it gradually came to denote the seat of government, that is the city where the Master and his Council functioned.⁷ In the early modern period ‘Convent’ became associated with Valletta; in a letter from Valletta written by Frà Simon le Petit to the Prior of Bologna in 1625, the former told the latter that he was writing to him ‘From the Convent’.⁸ The main church for this Convent-city was that of St John the Baptist, which was thus called the Conventual Church. The Grand Master, his Council and the other Hospitallers resided within Valletta’s bastions, which at least in ideal terms, constituted one holy space. Valletta was also – and still is – home to the archives of the Order. The main repository of the Order’s history from its foundation in the twelfth century down to the eighteenth century is now part of the National Library of Malta. The organization of the Archive of the Order of Malta reflects the priorities of a sovereign religious corporation with an international outlook and contrasts with the organization of monastic archives that are primarily concerned with establishing claims to rights or properties (although the archives of the Order were concerned with this, as well). This archive, divided into seventeen sections, includes records that deal with such varied aspects such as the Order’s rule over Malta, its administration of its lands across Europe, its international relations and the disciplining of Hospitallers.⁹ These documents were normally composed in Italian or Latin, but there is also material in Spanish and in French, reflecting the multi-ethnic character of this organization.

There were three main organizational tiers within the Order.¹⁰ The foremost rank was that of Knights of Justice, the military knights. This represented the most socially exclusive Hospitaller category, since one had to be a high-ranking noble to be admitted to this position. It was from among these that the Grand Master and the other high-ranking officials of the

Order were chosen. The second category was composed of the Conventual Chaplains, who formed the ecclesiastical ranks. They did not have to be noble, but they had to be of respectable birth. Conventual Chaplains were expected to be in the Convent (Valletta), serving at the Conventual Church, the Holy Infirmary and on board the galleys. At the helm of these priests was the Conventual Prior, one of the most important officers after the Grand Master, who was in charge of the administration of St John's Conventual Church and other Hospitaller churches.¹¹ The Bishop of Malta was also chosen from among these. Up to the twelfth century, the brother priests had been the predominant estate within the Order, but then as the Order became increasingly militarized, the knightly rank came to dominate.¹² This militarization of the Order was accompanied by its aristocratisation, mirroring developments in Europe, so that by the time the Order was established in Malta this hierarchical and militaristic mould had been fixed. The third major category of Hospitallers were the Serving Brothers or servants-at-arms, who had a purely military purpose and who had to be of respectable birth. The highest grade available to servants-at-arms was that of Master Esquire of the Convent. Answerable to the Marshall, this was a particularly important position as it entailed supervision of the Order's horses, direction of its soldiers in battle and the execution of the commands of the Grand Master and Council.¹³ In each of these categories there were novices, undertaking a probationary period before they took their religious vows and acceded to full membership of the Order. Those most recently enrolled were generally referred to as *fiernaulds* or freshmen.¹⁴ There were also two honorific titles that were bestowed by the Grand Master and his Council: Knights of Obedience and Knights of Grace. Two of the more prominent personages received as Knights of Obedience were the painters Frà Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571–1610) and Frà Mattia Preti (1613–1699).¹⁵ This differentiation of persons and offices, and the equitable distribution of duties, were seen as crucial for the good government of the Order.¹⁶

The head of the Order was the Grand Master, who was elected from among the senior members. Originally he had only been called 'Master', but by the time the Order settled in Malta the title 'Grand Master' was long established.¹⁷ Moreover, in Malta, the Grand Masters came to be referred to with the titles of 'Eminence' and 'Highness'.¹⁸ The election of a Grand Master was often a disputed affair and the approaching demise of an incumbent sent those aspiring to the position and their supporters into a frenzy of activity. The first election after the Chapter General of 1631 – in which the electoral procedure had been reformed under due scrutiny

from Rome – was eagerly anticipated in order to see how it would function.¹⁹ With the demise of Grand Master Antoine de Paule on 9 June 1636, the formal procedures were initiated. Inquisitor Fabio Chigi had been ordered by Rome to involve himself directly in the proceedings. He reported how most things went smoothly, but that the use of written ballots had been particularly time consuming. The old Hospitallers were slow to move about, found writing difficult and some of them had to adjust their spectacles, which was to be expected due to their old men's maladies. The young, on the other hand, did not have the patience to sit down and write, as they were more adept with the sword and the musket than with the pen.²⁰ French predominance within the Order can be seen in the fact that out of 443 Hospitallers eligible to vote and present in St John's Conventual Church for the election, 47 per cent were French. A Hospitaller from Provence, Frà Jean Paul de Lascaris Castellar, was elected Grand Master.²¹ In common with papal elections, magistral elections were believed to be led by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. In effect, divine direction was tempered by worldly concerns, and the election of Frà Martin de Redin (1657–1660) in August 1657 was one of the more controversial of the seventeenth century. De Redin, who was Prior of Navarre and Vice-Roy of Sicily at the time of his election, had canvassers who worked to garner support for him; however, he failed to impress Inquisitor Giulio degli Oddi, around whom opposition to his candidacy coalesced. Oddi accused de Redin of using damnable methods to obtain votes, including bribes. Controversy raged but in the end, the Pope, though acknowledging that the election process had been dogged with irregularities, confirmed de Redin in his new office to avoid further splitting the Order.²²

Upon being elected, a Grand Master took up residence in the Magistral Palace in Valletta, which became the seat of his Court. In early modern Europe, politics, economics, religion and culture were all heavily influenced by courts. Rather than being monolithic entities, courts were flexible institutions where power was traded.²³ The same was true of the Court of the Grand Master. He sat on a throne under a baldachin and when dining there were adequately elaborate forms of serving him, all of which emphasized the sacredness of his person and the hierarchical order of things. His Court was where all those who sought favours converged, and the place that was avoided by those who did not support a particular ruler.²⁴ In 1668, Inquisitor Angelo Ranuzzi described how the magistral court in Malta was as ostentatious as that of any great prince and that a host of knights served the Grand Master 'with the only pay being the hope [of] favours, commanderies, grace, or the assignment of positions, and offices'.²⁵

The motto crowning the image in Figure 2.1 boldly announced that the Grand Master elicited an ‘Obedience that was worthy of command’; already back in Rhodes, leading brethren had insisted on the need for ‘holy obedience’.²⁶ This is an image teeming with the trappings and symbols of power. The Grand Master, sitting on a throne under a baldachin, was at the heart of it. His crossed legs illustrated his authority, pre-eminence and social and moral prestige. His right hand was posed in the style of a Latin benediction, so that he appropriated for himself the symbol of the *dextera Domini*, the hand of God.²⁷ In his person, temporal and spiritual power were combined. The feminine figure on his right-hand side stood for his secular power, and she presented him with a crown and a sceptre. The crown denoted perfection and a form of power that was perpetual, while the cross on top of it stood for the unbreakable link between God and the Hospitallers. Together with the crown, the sceptre stood for notions of power and sovereignty, as well as the role of protector of those he was duty-bound to govern.²⁸ The figure on the left-hand side of the Grand Master corresponded to his religious authority. Like a preacher or philosopher of old, she extolled the Grand Master to adopt a style of governance that was conciliatory, consultative and simple, as indicated by the words *suave* and *leve*. The cross she held on high was meant as a further affirmation of the Grand Master’s role as a servant of Christ. Finally, the concealed arms of the Hospitaller sitting in the left-hand corner of the image signified the homage and submission of the Hospitallers to their Grand Master.²⁹

The image in Figure 2.1 is taken from a book of statutes of the Order of 1588, the *Statuta Hospitalis Hierusalem*, which was commissioned by Grand Master Verdalle. It was produced in Rome and contains engravings made by the prominent artists Philippe Thomassin (1562–1622) and Giuseppe Cesari *Il Cavalier d’Arpino* (1568–1640).³⁰ These illustrated statutes conformed to humanist notions of the effectiveness of the use of images to help people understand ideas.³¹ The statutes of Verdalle – in both their written and visual form – were meant to convey the message that obedience to established authority, particularly that of the Grand Master, was a sacrosanct duty. The theme of obedience was also to be found running through the official histories of the Order and of Malta that were commissioned or patronized by the Order and which were written by its members. The most prominent histories were those written by Giacomo Bosio, Giovanni Francesco Abela, Bartolomeo dal Pozzo and the Abbé de Vertot.³² Their greatest value lies in their production as conscious institutional initiatives aimed at forging a historical past that served to glorify the Order, teach moral



FIGURE 2.1 ‘On the Master’, 1588, engraving, 18×14 cm. *Statuta Hospitalis Hierusalem*, 96. Acknowledgement: © National Library of Malta.

lessons about the value of obedience, charity and sacrifice, and warn against the perils of disobedience.³³

By 1603, Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt had asserted the supreme authority of his office over the court of *esgarts*, where the punishment of the removal of a Hospitaller’s habit was meted out.³⁴ In January 1647, Grand Master Lascaris went head-to-head with Frà Salvatore Imbroll (1624–1656), Prior of the Conventual Church, over a dispute that concerned the hierarchical position of the Prior vis-à-vis the Grand Master. Grand Master Lascaris made the Prior sit at a lower elevation than himself during Mass

in the Conventual Church and demanded that the Prior seek permission from him when he wanted to convene an assembly of the conventual chaplains. To add insult to injury, the Grand Master rejected a two-volume history of the Order on which Prior Imbroll had been working.³⁵ Such a clash between a Grand Master and a Conventual Prior was meant to assert the supremacy of the magistral office over the whole of the Order, but in particular over the priestly ranks, who, under the authority of the Conventual Prior, constituted a semi-autonomous division within the Order. Taken together, the above processes were all indicators of the increasing power of the Grand Master vis-à-vis the rest of the Order.

Even so, the very nature of the Order as a dispersed organization necessitated the need for an effective structure of command that allowed for some level of participation in decision-making, particularly if not exclusively by an oligarchy of the most senior and influential Hospitallers. Thus, the Grand Master was assisted in running the Order by a Council composed of the head of each *langue* (the *Pilier*) and two other representatives per *langue*, as well as Hospitaller dignitaries that were in Convent, such as the Knights Grand Cross, who were the most senior Hospitallers. Each *Pilier* administered his *langue* with the help of an assembly, known as the *Collecta*, composed of all the Hospitallers of his *langue* present in the Convent. Besides being responsible for his own *langue*, each *Pilier* also held ex-officio another intra-Order office: the *Pilier* of Provence was the Grand Commander, effectively second-in-command within the Order and head of the Treasury; the *Pilier* of Auvergne was the Marshall, commander of the Order's armies; the *Pilier* of France was the Grand Hospitaller, in charge of the Holy Infirmary; the *Pilier* of Aragon was the Grand Conservator, responsible for the clothing and material supply of the Order; the *Pilier* of Castille was the Chancellor, responsible for the chancery and relations with other states; the *Pilier* of Italy was the Admiral, who had overall command of the navy; and the *Pilier* of Germany was the Grand Bailiff, responsible for the fortifications. The *Pilier* of England was known as the *Turcopilier*, and had been responsible for commanding the mercenaries in battle and for the coastal defences of Rhodes, but due to the demise of the English *langue* in the wake of the Reformation, in Malta this office was effectively defunct and bestowed upon individuals as an honorific title.³⁶ The importance of the *piliers* and the *langues* to the organization and functioning of the Order was visually represented in the image in Figure 2.2. In it, eight bearded men sit with their backs leaning against eight columns that support the whole structure, the word *Pilier* itself meaning a pillar in French. The Latin motto on top of the image declared that it was upon the columns of the languages that



FIGURE 2.2 'The *Langues* of the Order', 1588, engraving, 18×14 cm. *Statuta Hospitalis Hierusalem*, 104. Acknowledgement: © National Library of Malta.

the tower of God was built.³⁷ At the heart of the image was the Grand Master, sitting on an elevated throne, symbol of unity, stability and a synthesis between heaven and earth. The lion's paws that form the feet of the throne further indicated the strength, restraint and self-control of the Grand Master, in whose person the eight *langues* were united.³⁸

In line with other religious institutions, the highest legislative body within the Order was called the Chapter General, which met fairly regularly up to 1631. From the late sixteenth century up to 1631, the main reasons for its summoning were the Muslim threat, the need for reform of the Order and financial problems. Its powers were extensive, but they were limited by the gaps of years between its meetings. The Chapter General of 1631 was

particularly important, in that it addressed many administrative issues that had been accumulating over the years.³⁹ After this, however, there were to be no more chapters general until 1776, so that in its own way the Order mirrored the decline in quasi-parliamentary structures in Europe, particularly in France. Set alongside this complex organization was the fact that the ultimate authority within the Order was always the Pope. He had the power to summon Chapters General, and to appoint and dismiss Grand Masters.

A Hierarchical and Patriarchal Order

Patriarchy denotes a societal form in which fathers head families. By extension, those societies or communities governed and organized in this manner, where men dominate in positions of power, are referred to as being patriarchal.⁴⁰ The term implies hierarchy; in particular, it signifies male dominance over women. Gender historians are far from being in agreement as to the value of the term patriarchy; many feel that it is too narrow as a conceptual framework.⁴¹ Nonetheless, John Tosh and Michael Roper espouse its utility when it is understood as referring to various forms of 'father-rule'.⁴² In this sense, patriarchy helps explain patterns of authority, submission, resistance and compromise that illuminate power relationships and hierarchies within the Order; it also throws light on how social roles are structured, institutionalized and reproduced. Relationships within the Order were often couched in a paternal-patriarchal language: the Pope was referred to, and referred to himself, as 'benign Father and supreme master' of the Order, whereas the Hospitallers presented themselves as his 'truly obedient sons'.⁴³ Various Popes espoused this view of themselves as patriarchs of an Order of noble sons, since it gave them paramount control over it, through both discipline and affection. The distant father in Rome maintained a close scrutiny over his sons' behaviour through the Inquisitor, while being able to act as ultimate and disengaged arbiter in various disputes, thereby strengthening the Papacy's hold over the Order. The Grand Masters also made use of a patriarchal language, particularly when trying to exact obedience from recalcitrant Hospitallers; it was recognized that at times paternal admonition through strong reprimands rather than actual punishments was the wisest course to pursue.⁴⁴ One treatise encouraged all Hospitallers to be obedient and loyal to the Order by showing 'paternal affection towards their Mother Religion'.⁴⁵ Hence, the Order was a hierarchical-patriarchal organization

that used a language borrowed from the realm of the family to structure the relationships within its ranks. The patriarchal values of the Order were extended to their government of Malta, when, for instance, Grand Master Lascaris issued an edict in 1640 detailing harsh penalties (rowing on the galleys, flogging in public) for anyone who dared show disrespect to his parents.⁴⁶

The Augustinian Rule, upon which much of the Order's own statutes were based, had ordained that social relations of rich and poor be neither replicated nor reversed among the brethren.⁴⁷ In the case of the Hospitallers, their noble or genteel social background meant that relations between them were not formulated on the basis of rich and poor; rather, they were determined in terms of precedence, pre-eminence, power and protocol. The Order of Malta was a rigidly hierarchical institution: persons and offices were ranked in order one above the other. This on-going classification of people created the need for lists to be drawn up that kept track of complex social hierarchies. Such a list from the 1630s, for example, ranked numerically the way in which various Hospitallers could intervene in the Council, according to pre-eminence. The Grand Master topped the list, followed by the Bishop, the Conventual Prior, the Grand Commander, the Marshall, the Grand Hospitaller, the Admiral, all the way down to position number 47, which was occupied by the Bailiff of Acre.⁴⁸ What exactly determined this ranking is not stated and may be difficult to determine with precision; however, the emphasis was on the pre-eminence of the office, rather than the merits or seniority of the holder himself. Naturally, to attain the higher positions, personal achievement was implied, but the focus in such a list lay on the distinction that was conferred by the office.

Within a patriarchal framework focused on the various forms of father-rule, issues of power relations between men, and how they related to hierarchies of age, estate, rank and ethnicity can be raised. In terms of the social milieu from which Hospitaller knights hailed, patriarchal hierarchies can be observed in the relationships between the aristocracy (an elite of the most powerful nobles in a state) and the lesser noblemen who hovered around it in pursuit of patronage.⁴⁹ In pre-industrial Europe, the aristocracy and the landed-gentry played a fundamental role in running and influencing societies. Land ownership was embedded in kinship, and noble masculinity was closely integrated with the state, staffing both administrative and military offices.⁵⁰ The Hospitallers participated at every level within these hierarchies, both within the Order and at the various European courts. Men and women experienced patriarchal imperatives as beneficiaries, as subordinates and as opponents.⁵¹ Individual Hospitallers were beneficiaries

in terms of the positions of power they acquired, particularly when they received control of the Order's estates in Western Europe. Subordination for the Hospitallers came in different forms. In a sense, they were all subordinate to the logistics and necessities of primogeniture: this dictated that the family title and assets should pass undivided to the first-born son, and all other children had to acquiesce to this.⁵² Within the Order itself, an insufficient degree of nobility and/or seniority, the status of novice or page, residence within *auberges* rather than in private palaces – all signified varying degrees of subordination to senior members within the Order. In turn, many Hospitallers – particularly the younger ones – were willing to oppose in various ways the measures and behaviour of the patriarchs with which they disagreed. They would even take up arms against their elders when unpopular measures were taken, such as when prostitutes were expelled from Valletta in the late sixteenth century, or when restrictions were introduced on Carnival celebrations in 1639.⁵³ Therefore, patriarchy, even within the Order, was not 'simply hegemonic, but always contained contradictions, compromises and sources of instability.'⁵⁴

Aristocratic and masculine ideals were built into the hierarchical structures of the Order and into the ways it functioned in such a natural manner that they could elude the eye. In studies about relationships in modern schools, the sociologist Connell faced a similar situation, which was addressed by 'thinking institutionally' to see the ways gender was embedded in the institutional arrangements through which they functioned.⁵⁵ Like the boys' schools studied by Connell, the Order also had its own gender regime, created through the interaction of different ranks, power relations, division of labour, seniority and symbolism. In common with modern-day schools, participation in the Order's model of masculinity came about simply by having entered into it and living in its structures. Such gender regimes are not always internally coherent and although there is a strong top-down process of socialization, this also occurs in other formal and informal ways. Thus, status, religion, informal peer groups and encounters with different people, all contributed to an eclectic exchange within Hospitaller ranks.

One of the situations that led to most angst among Hospitallers on both an institutional and a personal level concerned seating arrangements and the way these reflected rank and precedence. An example of a hierarchical dispute on these lines happened in Rome in 1635. News had reached Rome that a great Ottoman attack on Malta was imminent. The Grand Master, therefore, ordered his Ambassador in Rome, the Commander Frà Grifoni, to summon an assembly of all the Hospitallers living there to convey his orders that they should make haste to Malta. Frà Grifoni informed Cardinal

Francesco Barberini, the Protector of the Order and Cardinal Antonio Barberini, the Prior of Rome, about the imminent threat.⁵⁶ All Hospitallers present in Rome were then summoned to the Palace of the Four Fountains (today Palazzo Barberini) on Friday 30 March 1635 for a council of war chaired by the Cardinal Prior Antonio Barberini. He sat on a chair of velvet, underneath a baldachin, while Ambassador Grifoni sat on a chair of leather just outside the canopy; the 30-some Hospitallers who attended were all seated on wooden stools.⁵⁷ Such a seating arrangement was meant to reflect the relationships of power within the Order, from the pinnacle represented by the Cardinal Prior Barberini's canopied throne as a Prince of the Church, down to the last Hospitaller sitting on a wooden stool. The Cardinal Prior reminded the Hospitallers of their duty to fight and die for Christ, and then handed the word over to Ambassador Grifoni to pass on the instructions of the Grand Master.⁵⁸ At this point, a group of Hospitallers stood up and argued that the whole assembly was invalid because the Ambassador had excluded from it Frà Giovanni Battista Nari, Prior of England, Commander of Maruggio and Benevento, Lieutenant General of the Papal Navy and General of the Order's squadron, who held precedence over the Ambassador. Turning red in the face and displaying an unmanly anger (according to a pro-Nari text), the Ambassador lashed out at the protesters and the assembly finished in a tumult.⁵⁹ Before they dispersed, the Cardinal Prior stated that his presence was all that was needed to confer legitimacy to the proceedings, but as regards the question of precedence between Ambassador Grifoni and Prior Nari, this was left undetermined.⁶⁰ The Papacy was deeply concerned about the whole affair, particularly in those pressing circumstances, and appointed a third party to settle the issue. The report opened by declaring that although it was laudable for individual Hospitallers to assert their honour and precedence vis-à-vis one another, this had to be done in a manner that did not bring disrepute to the whole hierarchical structure of the Order. It was concluded that Ambassador Grifoni was to be given precedence over Prior Nari because, whereas the Ambassador stood for a sovereign entity on a par with secular princes, the Prior only represented the territory of which he was in charge.⁶¹

Such a dispute – in which an issue of pre-eminence between two individuals took priority over the grave danger posed by an Ottoman attack on Malta – reflected the magnitude which issues of rank could reach among noblemen. It also reflected the overriding importance that precedence and pre-eminence had in Rome under the Barberini.⁶² Arguments of this sort happened regularly among Hospitallers, particularly when at sea on board the galleys. Furthermore, in an international organization such as the

Order of Malta, disputes over rank were often juxtaposed with issues of nationality. Thus, while they were on board a galley, an Italian and a French Hospitaller had a heated discussion about whether the office of Admiral of the Fleet belonged exclusively to the Italian *langue* or not. The Frenchmen, Frà Saccanville, believed it did not. The Italian, Frà Lomellino, asserted that it was so, and that the Pope would confirm this, to which Frà Saccanville replied that in France the Pope was not obeyed.⁶³ Such an argument was possibly indicative of a deeper tension in the Hospitaller navy, where French Hospitallers easily predominated numerically, but the highest offices tended to be the preserve of the Italians. French preponderance on board the galleys can be discerned in a list drawn up in the mid-1620s by the Inquisitor, in which he recorded those Hospitallers wounded or killed in action on board two particular galleys. According to this record, out of 57 casualties, nearly 60 per cent were French.⁶⁴ Matters got more convoluted when on top of rank and ethnicity, age and seniority further complicated questions of precedence. Hence, in the early 1580s, the Spaniard Frà Rodrigo Cortez, a senior captain in the fleet, refused to prejudice his honour by sailing his vessel behind that of the Frenchman Frà St Aubin, captain of the Grand Master's private vessel, who was his junior in age and rank.⁶⁵ Even in the midst of a battle, protocol had to be observed, so that, for example, it was essential for the flagship of the Order, the *Capitana*, to be always in the lead, surpassing all vessels, including the Grand Master's private vessel.⁶⁶ The Chapter General of 1631 tried to find ways to mitigate such problems. For instance, it ordered that in future, all those that went on board the galleys had to carry with them their certificate of entry into the Order so that positions could be assigned according to seniority and, in this manner, avoid clashes.⁶⁷ In a manual of instructions written for conventual chaplains who served at sea, chaplain Frà Giovanni Domenico Manso advised those who performed their service on the galleys to always take into account the varied nationalities and social ranks of the men in their care.⁶⁸

Credit and honour were deep-seated values within the Order's ranks. Credit was both about the esteem in which a person's character was held, as well as about economic worth. Men were able to quantify their and other men's credit as a fundamental aspect of their identity and defend it when it was threatened. In the world of business, one's credit and name were essential to build and maintain networks. Honour was dependant on context and was determined by other people's assessments of an individual's value.⁶⁹ For the Hospitallers, credit and honour were primarily about their standing within their hierarchical all-male institution, but this also had implications for their station on a wider scale. Purposefully spilling wine on

the floor in the presence of a senior officer was considered a dishonourable action that earned the perpetrators punishments such as confinement on bread and water and having to kneel throughout religious ceremonies.⁷⁰ When a Hospitaller's honour or life was placed in jeopardy by a third party, this was considered a grave offence to the other Hospitallers of his *langue*, and if the felony was serious enough, the grievance was felt to implicate all Hospitallers. Thus, on 7 August 1639, Inquisitor Gori-Pannellini sent a letter in cipher to Rome describing how two men who had shot and killed a Spanish knight had sought asylum inside the convent of St Dominic in Valletta.⁷¹ The Spanish knights had tried to drag them out of the convent to punish them but a pistol fight ensued, which caused the Spaniards to retreat. At this news, knights from all the *langues* joined their Spanish brethren and no effort was spared until the culprits were apprehended, maimed and killed. Neither the Grand Master nor the Grand Crosses had been able to restrain and prevent this bloodbath, a situation that greatly distressed the Inquisitor.⁷² The ideology of honour was so paramount that it was justifiable to subvert the wider social order to safeguard it. Through this violent act, all Hospitallers contributed in avenging a brother and thereby restoring the balance of honour and credit.

A knight's talent at horse riding constituted a crucial element of his honour. From at least the twelfth century, there was a strong association between horses, masculinity and knighthood. Whereas monks were expected to ride upon docile creatures, knights needed adequate mounts that they could ride, dominate and take into battle.⁷³ By extension, the ability to rein in a free-spirited horse was seen as an indication of a man's aptitude at exercising control over others and commanding their respect. In Palestine, the Order was primarily a land power so that horses were fundamental for its operations, but this was less so in Rhodes and Malta, where the Order fought most of its battles at sea.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, Frà Castiglione still thought that it was befitting for a knight to know how to ride a horse properly. It was also the most appropriate gift for a knight. At the same time, a Hospitaller was to keep only as many horses as were necessary and appropriate to his position and he was not to adorn them with rich drapes and gold, for these were the marks of superfluity and not knighthood.⁷⁵ In 1643, Frà Henri de Merles Beauchamp wrote excitedly to his brother in Avignon to tell him of the gift of a four-year-old Barbary horse that the Pasha of Tripoli had sent him.⁷⁶ It was a gift that highlighted Frà de Merles's manliness and nobility and the respect he commanded, even among Muslims.

A particularly visible denominator of hierarchical differences and arrangements, both on the galleys and in the Convent, was food. According

to Piero Camporesi, food – bread in particular – was probably the single most important element in securing a stable socio-political order.⁷⁷ From the first, the Order had recognized that one of the structural disadvantages of Malta was its inability to produce enough food to meet its own requirements, which led to a dependence on Sicily for basic foodstuffs.⁷⁸ Food scarcity could at times be so dire as to warrant extraordinary measures. Between 1647 and 1648, Grand Master Lascaris instructed his galley captains to scout for any wheat-laden vessels in the Sicily–Malta channel and force them to enter Malta.⁷⁹ Therefore, because food was not only absolutely essential but also hard to come by, it became a marker of social rank that needed regulating.⁸⁰ In the case of the Hospitallers, since they were a religious corporation, their consumption of food was regimented through the observance of days of abstinence, which the Inquisition closely policed. The days of the week were divided into two categories – lean days (Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays) and fat days (Tuesdays, Thursdays and Sundays) – as well as other days when certain foods were or were not allowed, such as Christmas and Good Friday. This applied equally to those in the Convent, as to those on the galleys. Moreover, the times of their meals were regulated by clerical hours, so that for instance the evening meal was served at the *Ave Maria*.⁸¹

In Malta, the gravitational centre for many Hospitallers was their national building, the *auberge*. Here, many of them, particularly the younger ones, had their meals in common and slept. These *auberges* were ethnic enclaves where men from similar geographical regions could socialize in a way distinct from the other nationalities that composed the Order, and from the Maltese population.⁸² The structure of the *auberges* was embedded in the medieval understanding of a ‘nation’ as a corporation of foreign men who were legally defined as pertaining to a particular ethnic/geographic group; in France, for instance, university students were divided into nations denoting their geographical origins.⁸³ Moreover, throughout Europe and the Mediterranean there were various commercial ‘nations’ – Catalan, Genoese, Florentine and so on – which operated in foreign territories, enjoyed certain privileges and often had their own buildings where they met, much like Hospitaller *auberges*.⁸⁴ This kind of setup created a certain feeling of solidarity among Hospitallers of the same *langue*: for instance, in January 1631, an official of the Inquisition who went to deliver a summons to an Italian knight, was almost beaten up by a group of Italian Hospitallers who were on their way to their *auberge*, because they felt they had to defend their compatriot’s honour.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, ‘nation’ as a concept and category remained highly fluid in early modern times: for instance the Venetian

nation in Constantinople included a spectrum of people ranging from the officials of the Venetian embassy, to Greeks born under Venetian rule, to individuals who moved in and out of the Venetian nation.⁸⁶ In the case of the *auberges* in Malta, senior Hospitallers tended to have their own houses, sometimes palaces, where they dined in private with a few select friends rather than communally in the *auberge*. In these instances, social pre-eminence over more junior or less-well-off brothers superseded considerations of a fraternal nature with regard to their 'nation'.

When one lived outside the *auberge*, there is evidence that food from the *auberge's* kitchens would actually be delivered to private residences, at least within Valletta.⁸⁷ It is likely that this was a way in which the *langue* could control what Hospitallers ate, particularly on days of abstinence, which by the eighteenth century amounted to about 72 days a year.⁸⁸ Besides their food rations from the *auberges*, the Hospitallers were also entitled to supplies of meat and bread from the Order's own abattoir and bakery. Queuing for meat could result in some serious disputes over precedence: in 1577, the Italian Hospitallers caused such a commotion at the abattoir when they demanded precedence over their Spanish brethren that a commission was appointed to investigate the issue.⁸⁹ This may, in part, explain why in later years slaves and servants were increasingly sent in lieu of their Hospitaller masters to fetch such items.⁹⁰ As a marker of their social standing, certain offices carried with them the obligation to feed a number of people. Thus, the Admiral was obliged to provide foodstuffs – bread, wine, meat, fish and fruit – for 25 knights every year. In 1635, the bill for this menu amounted to just over 1,400 *scudi*.⁹¹

Providing for one's own brethren in a manner that respected everyone's status was one thing, but when it came to foreign dignitaries and visitors, table protocol was carried to a whole different level. When Inquisitor Chigi left Malta in April 1639, he drew up some instructions for his successor to tell him how he should deal with the Hospitallers. One of the things he advised him about was food, detailing from which Palace official he could accept an invitation to dinner with the Grand Master, and even which type of chair and glass he should demand.⁹² The game of social rank was an intricate and complex one, where no detail could be overlooked. Further instructions for Inquisitors from 1663 stated that since many Hospitallers spent lavishly on banquets, the Inquisitors had to do the same, so as not to appear miserly. It was also suggested that dinner parties were a good way for the Inquisitors to keep in the loop of what was going on.⁹³ Tables played a central role in perceptions of hierarchy, so that the importance of the officials of the Grand Master's Palace was gauged by whether or not they

had their own personal dining table, alongside that of the Grand Master's, to which they could invite their acquaintances.⁹⁴ Entertaining guests at dinner provided the Grand Master with an opportunity to display his power and that of the Order. In July 1698, the Russian statesman Pyotr Tolstoy (1645–1729) dined with the Grand Master at the Palace of Verdala, where he was treated to a fine meal in the 'French manner' at a round table.⁹⁵

This reference to the usage of round tables in the Order seems indicative of a trend that had set in during the seventeenth century, and may reflect a wider European interest in the legend of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table.⁹⁶ In 1656, a plea was made by some members of the German *langue* in Malta to the Grand Master to appoint a commission to investigate the way food was distributed in the German *auberge*. A three-man commission composed of non-German Hospitallers was duly appointed to look into the matter. According to this commission, the crux of the affair at hand was the introduction by the Grand Bailiff (head of the German *langue*) of the use of a circular table around which food was served. The Hospitallers who presented the original complaint said that the Grand Bailiff had in the past treated them well and served them with good food, but that he had done so:

. . . at a round table, at which it is not possible to differentiate between the Senior and the freshman, between the Knight and the servant-at-arms, so that they wished to be served, and to eat at an elongated table, as had been the custom in times past, and as was the usage in the other *Auberges*.⁹⁷

The commissioners believed that this was a truly just complaint and decreed that, in future, a rectangular table should be used. The levelling of social differences during meals was felt as an affront to the integrity of the senior and more important members of the *langue*. It also created the possibility of subversive ideas among the young, which could have chipped away at the establishment. This affair throws a revealing light on the particularity of the early modern German nobility: the fragmented nature of the Holy Roman Empire created a situation where there were many great nobles but no full-blown aristocratic elite, where nobles and non-nobles regularly brushed shoulders in public life, and where there was a strong tradition of hierarchical assemblies which upheld social and jurisdictional distinctions.⁹⁸ If the Grand Bailiff had been animated and inspired by Arthurian ideals of knightly equality and brotherhood, the rest of his brethren were more concerned with the preservation of the hierarchy and their pre-eminence.

What happened in the German *auberge* in Malta represented a conflict between a Grand Bailiff who wanted to re-create a more Empire-like atmosphere in his *auberge*, and German nobles in Malta who, inspired in particular by the example of their French noble brethren, wanted to assert a greater distinction within their ranks. Hence, differences in social rank were underlined through the custom of serving the best food to the seniors, while the freshmen received what were literally called the 'left overs'. There were also strict rules about what young Hospitallers were to be served, and if someone were overly late for a meal, no matter what his rank, the only repast he would be eligible for would be one for a freshman. In all of this, the Germans argued that they were following the example of the French *auberges*.⁹⁹

An institution that at this time also made use of a round table was the Treasury. Its purpose here was to serve as the piece of furniture around which the meetings of Treasury officials took place. Frà Caravita, who was Secretary to the Treasury, left detailed treatises about how such meetings worked. Frà Caravita's style would, in modern legal terminology, be described as a case law approach, because he used previously reached judgements and statutes to attain his conclusions. Unlike in the German *auberge*, the use of a round table in the Treasury was a strictly hierarchical and minutely detailed business. The Grand Commander, who was President of the Treasury, sat at the 'head of the table', with everyone else having a pre-determined seat after that. Rank was determined by how close or far one sat from the Grand Commander.¹⁰⁰ During meetings, a trait that was particularly encouraged and admired in those present was modesty: in speech, in the manner of standing or sitting and in the discussion. This was a manly attribute which if breached was specifically punishable.¹⁰¹ Frà Caravita described a subtle but significant distinction between 'pre-eminence' and 'seniority'. Basically, it was argued that in the case of a freshman sitting in for a more senior member of the Order, such as a representative of the Grand Master, he would benefit from the pre-eminence that was attached to the office of Grand Master and get to sit on a velvet chair (a marker of primacy), but this would not elevate him to the seniority of elder members.¹⁰² In this vein, Frà Caravita quoted an example from 1610, when the representative of the Grand Master was ranked as 15 in a list of 16 Treasury members present for a meeting. This was because it was decided that he would sit in accordance with his own personal seniority and merit, behind those that were more senior than him, rather than sit according to the Grand Master's station.¹⁰³ In the case of non-regulars who were admitted to particular meetings of the Treasury, only Grand Crosses were allowed to sit,

whereas less senior brothers had to stand, although some consideration was shown towards old Hospitallers by not letting them stand for too long.¹⁰⁴ Age and seniority were, therefore, key components in determining seating, speaking and voting sequences that were essential as demarcations of hierarchical status and power.

Age and Seniority

The idea of 'three forms of age' was developed in sociology and adopted by archaeologists to explain how past populations conceptualized and structured their life course; this model is applicable to the Hospitallers' experience of growing up within their Order's structures and hierarchies.¹⁰⁵ The first form is 'physiological age', and it refers to the actual physical ageing of the body. This was of concern for the Order, both because physical prowess was vital for the successful functioning of its military and naval operations, but also because of the challenge of reconciling their avowed chastity with the virility associated with knighthood. For individual Hospitallers, this was important in terms of the possibilities for promotion and gain that came up upon the demise of one of their brethren; in the same vein, a Hospitaller who lived for too long constituted an obstacle both to his age-fellows and those younger than he in their desire of succeeding to his own position. The second form is 'chronological age', and this refers to the time from birth. This was important for the Order – especially after Trent – in order to certify that its new entrants were not under the required age of sixteen. Documents certified as correct by notaries attesting to an applicant's age formed an essential component of the proofs that had to be presented in order to gain admission. The third form, 'social age', was about the norms associated with the behaviour and attitudes of an age group. In the Order's case, social age is linked in particular to *antianitas* or the system of seniority which was considered vital for a Hospitaller's progression within the ranks.¹⁰⁶ However, 'social age' was also about the patterns of behaviour of particular age groups, for instance young and old Hospitallers.

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, age was a particularly crucial factor that determined perceptions of manhood, and male sexual mores were correlated with age and social status. The prescriptive literature portrayed manhood as an ideal to which the young should aspire, and from which the old would decline.¹⁰⁷ Determining the boundaries between childhood-youth-adulthood was a major concern for theorists and people

in general; however, the precise contours between them were always to some extent blurred. The exchanges between the young and the old were characterized in terms of both contrast and continuity. In turn, these relations were conditioned by the 'nature vs. nurture' paradigm whereby socio-historical circumstances impinged on the biological processes of growing up and ageing.¹⁰⁸ The Order classified Hospitallers into three age-groups, which to some extent served to distinguish between children, youths and adults. Those under 12 years of age were considered to be minors, a category referred to as *minorità*, while those between 12 and 15 years of age were pages, a category called *paggieria*. Technically, minors and pages were aspiring Hospitallers rather than actual members of the Order because they were under the age of 16 and had to undergo a novitiate before taking religious vows.¹⁰⁹ Minors and pages within Hospitaller structures correspond roughly to the modern-day categories of children and adolescents. In Hospitaller terms, those aged 16 and over could become professed members of the Order and belonged to a category known as *maggiorità* or adulthood.¹¹⁰ While *minorità* and *paggieria* were linked to clearly indicated age parameters, *maggiorità* was an open and less-well-defined category. It ranged from young/junior members known as *fiernaulds*, to the elderly/senior members referred to as *anziani*.¹¹¹ The boundaries between these categories were relative and dependent on a range of factors, including regulations, personal aptitude, social rank and connections. Thus, the Chapter General of 1631 laid out that galley captains had to be at least 25 years old, in possession of ten years of seniority, and to have performed a minimum of three *carovane*.¹¹² On the other hand, Frà Alexandre de Vendôme who was an illegitimate son of King Henri IV of France, was already by the age of 13 Prior of France. When he was in Malta during August 1615, he was always seated at the left-hand side of the Grand Master during Mass and in the council, and they sat across from each other during meals.¹¹³ While an illegitimate son of a king was rapidly promoted in the Order's ranks, others had to strive hard to secure a commandery or a pension in their old age (see below). Therefore, while chronological age played a significant part in shaping Hospitaller hierarchies, an individual nobleman's background was equally important in establishing and maintaining his rank within the Order.

As an aspect of social age, seniority was highly significant in many Hospitallers' lives and the one factor upon which Hospitallers were least likely to make compromises. For instance, in 1630, a tumult was raised in Malta against the Hospitaller servant-at-arms Frà Alonso de Contreras, when he managed to gain a Papal brief to have his seniority backdated by almost

29 years. Pressure was such that eventually Contreras was 'persuaded' to decline the honour bestowed upon him by the Pope.¹¹⁴ When, in October 1621, Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt needed someone to act as ambassador-extraordinary to Rome to smooth out a quarrel between the Papacy and the Italian Hospitallers, he chose 'one of the Ancients', the Admiral Frà Niccolo della Marra, precisely because of his senior ranking.¹¹⁵ Seniority was also linked to the acquisition and use of titles. Since the Order was a religious entity, the Chapter General of 1631 had ordained that the use of the term *signore* to address Hospitallers was to be dropped as contrary to its spirituality.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, titles continued to be used within the Order and in fact they flourished because they signalled a brother's advancement through the ranks and were in line with the Hospitallers' aristocratic values. Young Hospitallers could gain seniority over time and through their deeds; seniority, in fact, represented an 'age within an age', which celebrated maturity over youthful rashness.

Youth was generally considered as a time of dependency and socialization, which equipped young men with all that was necessary for adulthood. Youth was both a social construct of the dominant adult society, as well as an actual set of experiences, and societies needed to manage socialization in a way that did not weaken established authority. Contemporary theories about bodily humours portrayed youth as the 'hot phase of life' so that misrule and youth were practically synonymous.¹¹⁷ In sixteenth-century German towns, the civic fathers inveighed against the youths who were constantly drunk, fighting, gambling and spending time with prostitutes.¹¹⁸ In Venice, the 'wars of the fists' at its bridges constituted a channel for aggressive youthful behaviour that was more or less controllable and which emphasized that true skills only came through maturity. Throughout the rest of Italy, civic authorities had to grapple with similar problems of youthful misconduct.¹¹⁹ Seventeenth-century France developed the ideal of the *honnête homme* – a civilizing mould that emphasized control over the passions – to wean youth away from their crude, rustic and uncivil ways. Gradually, *honnêteté* became the mark of self-defined privileged estates, particularly the nobility.¹²⁰

This European-wide view of youth as rash was mirrored in the generally pessimistic view of the young to be found in Hospitaller conduct literature and a tradition of books and treatises aimed at socializing young Hospitallers into normative behaviours developed which set forth male role models to be imitated. Quite often, though not always, they were written by Hospitallers for Hospitallers, and would even be recommended by confessors.¹²¹ Besides describing the technicalities of the enrolment procedure for the Order,

these works advised young men on how to become ‘a knight of St John who is loved by God, well thought of in our religion [i.e. the Order], & appreciated by the men of the world, by the righteous, & by kings’.¹²² Frà Castiglione used the following words to dedicate his advice book to his nephew, who was also a Hospitaller:

[S]ince thou art so young, and of little experience (which is hardly ever found where the years are not) it has dawned on me to leave thee these few, short, and succinct memories, which when these by thou will be observed and put into practice, I hope through Our Lord God, that thy life be one of a truly religious knight of St John.¹²³

Frà Castiglione believed that the young lacked prudence, a trait highly desirable in honourable men, which would only come about with age and experience. He therefore addressed his work to young inexperienced men, telling them that faith and perseverance in the battle for good were the aims of a Hospitaller.¹²⁴ A recurrent theme from Frà Castiglione onwards was that goodness was not normally to be found in the young. In fact, when the diarist of the Great Siege of 1565, Francesco Balbi di Correggio, talked about the courage of the ‘very young knights’ in the face of grave dangers and death, he said that they ‘showed as much courage and spirit as if they had been veterans’.¹²⁵ Antonino Parisi, in his *L’Idea del Cavalier Gerosolimitano*, described the protagonist of his biography, Frà D. Agostino Grimaldo e Rosso, as an ‘old youth’; in this way he emphasized that a young man could be generous in spirit in a way that was not expected of youth, because through the grace of God, he had transcended the limits of his age.¹²⁶ In the introductory Preface to this book, the priest Antonio Maria Sersale described Frà Grimaldo as ‘a youth in his age, but of senescent prudence’.¹²⁷ It was in spite of his youthfulness that Frà Grimaldo displayed the qualities generally found in adults – efficacy, gracefulness, gravity and honesty in speech, prudence in work, tactfulness when giving orders, accurate in his obedience, piety – all of which were topped by a beautiful soul and a handsome body.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, Frà Grimaldo’s crowning achievement was his dying in battle as a Soldier of Christ.¹²⁹ Such assumptions were echoed by Francesco Scalletari in his book about a Hospitaller Captain General of the Galleys; in it he described how the 18-year-old Knight Frà Zandodri had laid down his life during the siege of Catara, in Albania. Despite his young age, he was in possession of a most generous spirit.¹³⁰ This view that a good and generous heart was not normally found in young people continued to be found in Hospitaller literature into the eighteenth century.¹³¹

What was particular about Malta was that relations within the Convent unfolded within a peculiar demographic and social setting; on the one hand there were the Grand Master, his Council, and the other older brethren who constituted the governing hierarchy, whereas on the other there was a body of young, mostly powerless Hospitallers who were expected to obey. A median element of middle-aged men who could mediate between the two extremities was either absent or too thin on the ground to make enough of an impact. This was because Hospitallers at that stage of their vocation would very often be away at a commandery or some European court pursuing their own careers and/or carrying out work for the Order itself. The hierarchical structures of the Order were, thus, characterized by an imbalanced heavy top-down distribution of power and authority. Originally, when the Order had been in the East, it had functioned as a place where young men could forge a career for themselves, and where a generally old Master had to deal with a Convent that was predominantly young, even in its senior positions. However, after the loss of the Holy Land in the 1290s, a shift occurred from young to old officers as more experienced brethren were needed in the Convent to deal with the complex post-Jerusalem situation.¹³² Since then, the same pattern continued to prevail, as reflected in the circumstances in Malta. The image in Figure 2.3 shows a general or provincial chapter full of old men, with long beards, bald heads and wrinkled foreheads. The Grand Master's pointed index finger was an affirmation of his power and authority, whereas the official to his right holding a document was meant to ascertain how his authority was rooted in the old statutes.¹³³ The Latin motto states: 'He who does not care for private things, does not care for the public thing'.¹³⁴ The young are conspicuously missing from this hierarchical setting of power and from the realm of those that care for the 'public thing', that is, the Order.

Admittedly, this view of young men as disturbers of public peace and as a threat to those in authority was reinforced by the frequent clashes between older and younger members of the Order, as well as by the unruly, and at times violent, behaviour of pages, novices and freshmen. Conversely, this black-and-white perspective needs to make allowances for the many shades of grey that characterized old-young, senior-junior exchanges. As elsewhere in Europe, young Hospitallers gambled and blasphemed, frequented prostitutes and committed murder.¹³⁵ A conviction for murder usually carried the death penalty, but the noble status of the Hospitallers, particularly the knights, protected them against many of the harsher penalties, and their punishments were often quickly commuted.¹³⁶ In some respects, young Hospitallers in Malta found themselves in a similar position to journeymen



FIGURE 2.3 'On both the General and the Provincial Chapters', 1588, engraving, 18×14 cm. *Statuta Hospitalis Hierusalem*, 64. Acknowledgement: © National Library of Malta.

in Germany, apprentices in France and arsenal workers in Venice, in terms of their being excluded from the full benefits of patriarchal manhood; however, the familial and noble status of Hospitallers meant that the social gulf between them and other social groups was so considerable that Hospitallers could often get away with almost anything.¹³⁷ Thus, from time to time, young Hospitallers took up arms against their elders in situations where they felt affronted or cheated. This was the case in April 1622 when, following meddling from Rome with the distribution of Italian commanderies, members of the Italian *langue* incited members from the other *langues* to stage a riot against the Grand Master and his Council. Inquisitor Paolo

Torello reported how about 300 knights terrorized some of the 'poor old members of the Council', and then went to Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt and openly threatened him.¹³⁸ Grand Master Wignacourt, who by now was quite old, was speechless in the face of the young revellers and the Inquisitor described him as 'bewildered'.¹³⁹ The young Hospitallers felt betrayed by their leaders' inability to protect their interests in the face of papal pressure. Inquisitor Torello also reported how after these initial targets, the anger of the rebels turned towards him, at which point older Hospitallers joined the younger ones in their clamour. Therefore, fearing 'a total revolution' inside the Convent, the Inquisitor's advice was to lie low until things simmered down.¹⁴⁰

As this revolt demonstrates, young and old were indeed in conflict, but there was also a level of harmony as different generations shared at least some cultural values. While the young sought both to please and topple the patriarchs within the Order, the patriarchs themselves had been formed by this combative culture and they still felt an affinity to it.¹⁴¹ Within the patriarchal framework of the Order, relations of power were as much about intergenerational exchanges, as they were about gender issues.¹⁴² As one treatise argued, '[When] the young show the requisite reverence, and respect to the ancients, and these protect and defend them [i.e. the young], true Harmony can be born'.¹⁴³ In fact, the records of the Inquisition show that there was a tendency for senior knights to take under their wings more junior ones, which at times included accommodation in their houses.¹⁴⁴ The young were also quick to follow the example of their elders, so that Cardinal Scipione Borghese felt obliged to castigate those Grand Crosses who set a dangerous precedent for young Hospitallers in their opposition to the Grand Master.¹⁴⁵

The experience of ageing for a Hospitaller could be quite varied: the older one became, the more long-lasting and long-standing relationships tended to be, but, in due course, death would start severing relationships. Although aged seniors were technically meant to be at the pinnacle of their hierarchical power within the Order, they could also suffer a quick decline from that apex.¹⁴⁶ As in the case of elderly men in general, old Hospitallers who enjoyed a permanent office, a steady income and good health were able to continue commanding the respect of others, whereas those whose health deteriorated sharply would find themselves quickly eclipsed.¹⁴⁷ In contrast to the situation of elderly men in other walks of life, ill health rarely meant that an old Hospitaller would lose all means of sustenance and be reduced to begging. Elderly Hospitallers could rely on their rank for maintenance. Therefore, although the members of the Order were denied

the full benefits of noble masculinity by virtue of their being second-born, both young and old were dramatically better-off than most other early modern men. Moreover, since the Order was a charitable organization with a sophisticated hospital, it offered to its own members pensions and health services that assured them a decent quality of life in their old age. Thus, ageing for Hospitallers was not so much about poverty as it was about social isolation and exclusion once one was relegated to a bed in a house or in the Holy Infirmary. Consequently, this must have meant a period of difficult psychological adaptation for men who had been used to lead a very active warlike existence on the open seas. Theories about bodily humours described the aged body as abnormally cold and dry, dominated by black bile and, therefore, approaching death.¹⁴⁸ In Frà Castiglione's book, which is generally so critical of the young, one can sense a streak of melancholy when he states that in his old age, pen and paper are the only means at his disposal to remain active, whereas as a young man he had been able to ride, hunt and fight; such nostalgic feelings were not unlike those to be found in Balbassare Castiglione's *Libro del Cortegiano* (1528).¹⁴⁹ Young age was inexorably associated with healthy, handsome and active bodies, whereas old age was a time of infirmity, immobility and death.¹⁵⁰

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, a newly arrived Hospitaller or aspirant was mockingly called 'Prince of Filfla', Filfla being a small barren rock off the southwest coast of Malta.¹⁵¹ This was an empty title that implied an inversion of the honorific significance that titles normally had for members of the Order. In this way, the hierarchical nature of relations within the Order was immediately pressed upon newcomers. As a Hospitaller progressed through the ranks, his life experience was affected by the interaction of the 'three forms of age'. Youth was a 'social age' with generally violent and unruly associations. As a youth developed 'physiologically' and 'chronologically', and as he acquired seniority, he was expected to acquire the behaviour of older and more mature men. On a personal level, such a progression was linked with the acquisition of income and position. Eventually, this process would lead into old age as another 'social age', one that had as many opportunities as it did pitfalls.

Better a Commandery than Heaven

Seniority was vital for Hospitallers since, through it, they were able to gain access to commanderies.¹⁵² The commandery was the basic unit of administration within the Order and generally consisted of a compact territorial

unit composed of buildings and estates (as well as villages, churches and hospitals) that yielded revenues to its administrator, the Commander. The Commander was obliged to send a third (the *responsions*) of this income to the Treasury in Malta. Commanderies were grouped into larger units called Priors, which in turn could be gathered into even larger units referred to as a Grand Commanderies. These were the building blocks that constituted a *langue*. Each administrative level necessitated the presence of a Hospitaller who would manage the assets and reap the financial benefits.¹⁵³ The introit from the commanderies was fundamental for the successful functioning of the Order, and over the years the Treasury strove to ensure their profitability.¹⁵⁴ At the same time, the financial management of the Order was carried out according to religious and aristocratic dictates. This meant that the main aim of the Treasury was to balance the books and support a certain lifestyle, rather than to make a profit.¹⁵⁵ A commandery was not, technically, an ecclesiastical benefice. According to Frà Caravita, this was because commanderies did not carry with them any spiritual duties, but were rather rewards for military achievement and means to provide sustenance to Hospitallers.¹⁵⁶ The Treasury had to ensure the overall good government of these assets in the face of recalcitrant Commanders who refused to pay their *responsions*, international disputes and wars that hampered the life and productivity of a commandery, as well as papal and princely meddling in the assignment of commanderies. The Order as a whole and individual Hospitallers considered papal interference in the distribution of commanderies as particularly irritating and detrimental to both institutional and personal aspirations.¹⁵⁷ Such meddling left many feeling antagonized. Despite these challenges, the Order was able to garner the finances that were necessary for it to function and thrive, as the many architectural projects it carried out throughout Europe and the Mediterranean (Valletta in particular) attest.

The vast spread of the Order's holdings across Europe, together with the traces these possessions have left in countless archives throughout the continent, reveals the Order's pervasive impact on the European landscape and memory.¹⁵⁸ The nature of a commandery varied according to its location: some were covered by forests, others were agrarian in character, while others were pastoral.¹⁵⁹ The commanderies in Western Europe, which began to develop from the twelfth century, had originally been stepping stones for pilgrims going to holy sites and some included buildings which acted as hospices. In the early phases, small communities of Hospitallers could be found living on commanderies according to the rule; gradually, resources were concentrated on certain sites and individual Hospitallers

running a particular commandery became more common.¹⁶⁰ By the early eighteenth century, buildings which had been hospices were often transformed into comfortable houses for the resident Hospitaller or suitable structures were constructed, and not infrequently commanders chose procurators to delegate responsibility to for the day-to-day running of the commandery. Another common practice was for commanders to rent out property to individuals and organizations; some local families leased and worked Hospitaller lands over several generations.¹⁶¹ Over the centuries, Hospitaller commanderies became embedded in local communities and customs. Commanders had an obligation to maintain churches for which they were responsible and they were also involved in the religious lives of their tenants and those living in parishes under Hospitaller jurisdiction.¹⁶² Particular commanderies, such as that of Haarlem (located in the Netherlands and part of the German *langue*), not only provided work for local labourers, but also became focal points for nobles who patronized and frequented the commandery as a place of regional sociability. There, on a regular basis, one could meet nobles from further afield who stayed at the commandery while travelling.¹⁶³ The eight-pointed cross of the Hospitallers was prominently displayed in commanderies and, in some instances, the local presence of the Order was so strong that the eight-pointed cross became part of the coat-of-arms of a particular town, as was the case of Castello di Città (part of the Grand Priory of Rome).¹⁶⁴

For its holder, a commandery meant financial security, as well as the possibility of further progression within the ranks. Many Hospitallers strove to accumulate as many commanderies as possible, since these not only enriched them but also gave them the possibility of patronising others. A Commander could in fact choose to detach a part of his commandery (a *membro*) and hand it over to another Hospitaller (referred to as a *membrista*).¹⁶⁵ Commanderies effectively empowered individual Hospitallers in respect to their brethren and the interest in acquiring them was fierce. Commanderies were a frequent topic of discussion among Hospitallers: in 1684, the Sicilian Josepho Luduca, who had a shop in Valletta right across from the Magistral Palace, told the Inquisitor how the knights who frequented his shop were forever discussing commanderies.¹⁶⁶ In 1639, the friends of Frà Henri de Merles Beauchamp and Frà Dionisio de Pollastron Caijliero had to interpose between these two when they had a major quarrel about their commanderies and dignities within the Order.¹⁶⁷ The death of a Commander meant that one or more commanderies became vacant, and this created a frenzy of manoeuvrings by individuals to influence princes, cardinals, Popes and Grand Masters to obtain such commanderies.¹⁶⁸ Once

a Hospitaller assumed control over a commandery, he could utilize it to further the interests of his relations and friends. In the correspondence of those Hospitallers who were members of the French de Merles Beauchamp family, it emerges how for example an uncle would appoint a nephew as procurator for his commandery, or how a pension derived from the commandery for a Hospitaller's relation could be arranged.¹⁶⁹ The prospect of a commandery also exerted a powerful lure for parents seeking to settle their sons in the Order.¹⁷⁰ As an institution made up of noblemen, the Hospitallers understood well the link between land management and money, so that the obsession with gaining control of territorial assets represented a natural extension of their aristocratic background.¹⁷¹ Through the acquisition of a commandery, one became a beneficiary of the patriarchal dividends to be acquired within the Order.

Along the career path of a Hospitaller, one expected to receive commanderies as rewards for one's efforts and achievements. During his distinguished career, Frà Opizio Giudotti received at least six different commanderies in Italy as he rose in the ranks.¹⁷² Grand Master de Paule awarded the commandery of de Jalès to Henri de Merles Beauchamp as a reward for his many virtues, gifts and services to the Order.¹⁷³ Three of the most important duties of a Commander were the effective management of the assets for which he was responsible, the improvement of a commandery (*melioramentum*) and the carrying out of a detailed analysis of a commandery every 25 years (*cabreo*). The carrying out of these tasks would influence a Hospitaller's further progression depending on his performance. The Council of Trent emphasized the obligation of bishops (or the relevant heads of religious institutions exempt from the bishop's authority), to carry out regular visitations of religious estates to ensure their good government. This also applied to the Order.¹⁷⁴ The statutes of 1588 summarized the ever-vigilant role the Commander was expected to play using the motto, 'That just as the sun saw everything, so the eye had to do the same'.¹⁷⁵ There were also manuals that explained how a Commander should manage effectively the properties assigned to him.¹⁷⁶

Many Hospitallers believed that commanderies were to serve as means of subsistence in old age. Thus, in 1631, Frà Lelio Brancaccio (who had 24 years of seniority) and Frà Clemente Malamaila (who had 52 years of seniority), asked to have their long and distinguished careers rewarded through the allotment of a commandery so that they could pass their old age in dignity.¹⁷⁷ Papal interference, however, was a cause of serious concern for Hospitallers who looked forward to the solace of a good commandery to ease their retirement. The historian of the Order, Frà Bartolomeo dal

Pozzo, argued that since Hospitallers 'consumed their youth in voyages, and *carovane*, spilled their blood, and exposed their life a thousand times' they expected their due in terms of security in old age, only to find themselves cheated by papal misappropriation of commanderies.¹⁷⁸ In February 1588, Frà François Puget wrote a letter to the Pope in which he argued that despite being an old and poor knight who had shed blood and sweat for the Catholic Faith, he was not granted a commandery and he now hoped that the Pope would rectify this grievance.¹⁷⁹ In the same year, Italian Hospitallers drew up a petition asking the Pope to show more consideration to their concerns when distributing commanderies, for these were intended to support old knights. It was also unjust, they argued, that senior Hospitallers were being by-passed by junior ones in the allocation of commanderies.¹⁸⁰ These concerns went largely unheeded, for in 1624, Italian Hospitallers were still complaining about these same issues.¹⁸¹

A Hospitaller who received a commandery did not become its owner, but its administrator. The Order had to re-iterate this point so as to curb the avidity of some commanders, as well as to defend itself against those who believed that the Hospitallers ignored their vow of poverty. The ideal attitude that the Order sought in its members was captured in the image in Figure 2.4: they should live, the motto exhorts, 'As if they possessed everything and had nothing' (2 Cor. 6:10).¹⁸² This image emphasized how all authority over the commanderies rested in the person of the Grand Master as the ultimate guardian of the Order's assets, who from his elevated and canopied throne passed on the responsibility to a reverent and submissive Hospitaller (whose obedient attitude was emphasized by his crossed hands upon his chest).¹⁸³ The different ways in which hands and arms are positioned in this image reflected the different ranks and stages in life of those represented therein. The old man at the back of the image indicates the newly appointed Commander to the youth next to him, explaining how he himself could aspire to that position later on in life. This is another representation replete with allegorical representations of the ages of man.

In reality, there often seems to have been a chasm between this ideal of the 'gentleman administrator' and what commanders actually did. The Chapter General of 1578 condemned unequivocally those Hospitallers who forgot to live as religious knights and instead led a scandalous secular life, using commanderies for their personal profit. Again and again, commanders had to be reminded of their status as administrators and not proprietors.¹⁸⁴ Administering a commandery meant restricting oneself to the conservative targets outlined above. If a Commander attempted to go beyond these, and in particular if he tried to sell off parts of a commandery, this would raise



FIGURE 2.4 'On the Administration of Commanderies', 1588, engraving, 18×14 cm. *Statuta Hospitalis Hierusalem*, 144. Acknowledgement: © National Library of Malta.

deep concerns within the Order. Thus, between 1617 and 1627, the Order, and the *langue* of Italy in particular, found itself entangled in a bitter quarrel with Frà Virginio Orsino, Commander of San Giovanni di Prè in Genoa. Since Orsino could rely on some powerful connections in Rome, he was able to have a free hand with regards the management of the commandery, which the Italian *langue* opposed, as it believed Orsino was aiming at completely dissolving San Giovanni di Prè.¹⁸⁵

Possibly because of such careless attitudes on the part of at least some Hospitallers, the Order found itself repeatedly needing to explain its vow of poverty. The point about this vow was not that the Hospitallers had to lead a life of deprivation, but that although they could lead a comfortable life, they personally owned absolutely nothing.¹⁸⁶ As noblemen, it would have

been unbecoming for them to lead the life of paupers, and it would have upset the social order. Therefore, they were 'poor' in the sense that they were managers of assets held communally by the Order. Unlike early modern German businessmen for whom commercial ventures and male-ness went together, the Hospitallers as noblemen and religious based their maleness on the gentility of income from the land.¹⁸⁷ For this purpose, control over commanderies was essential to mark a Hospitaller's rank within the Order. This explains Frà D'Amor's sentiments when he asserted 'that he'd rather enjoy a good commandery for twenty years, than enjoy heaven for three years'.¹⁸⁸ The income of a good commandery could sustain a Hospitaller's ability to assert himself hierarchically and materially in relation to other men and cushion the negative impact of old age as his physical strength waned.

The Revolt of 1581

In the summer of 1581, a complex range of factors relating to Hospitaller hierarchy, patriarchy and age, as well as members' ambitions to acquire commanderies and promotions, led to Grand Master Jean l'Evêque de la Cassière being violently deposed from power. Subsequent events nearly broke up the Order all together. The spark that ignited the whole affair was the decision by la Cassière to expel all prostitutes and courtesans from the city of Valletta, to the great indignation of many Hospitallers. A group of rebellious Hospitallers held a council in which they deposed the Grand Master, and elected the Hospitaller Frà Marthurin d'Aux de Lescaut (known as Romegas), Prior of Toulouse and Ireland, as lieutenant of the Order. La Cassière, escorted by a group of jeering Hospitallers and prostitutes, was removed from his palace to the fortress of St Angelo in Vittoriosa for safekeeping. Nonetheless, the Grand Master still held the loyalty of many Hospitallers, who repeatedly offered their arms to restore his power, but fearing a fratricidal blood bath, la Cassière refused such assistance and instead relied upon the Pope to restore his power. Soon after, the Pope summoned both la Cassière and Romegas to Rome, where he restored la Cassière to his authority and severely reprimanded Romegas and the other conspirators.¹⁸⁹ Though the cause of this revolt, the expulsion of prostitutes, may seem trivial, there were deeper motives behind the whole incident which highlight internal fractures on issues of legitimate authority. In fact, the old age of Grand Master la Cassière constituted a significant motive for some of the conspirators to depose him. Eager for office and power, some

of the older members of the Order desired to be rid of la Cassière to advance their own careers. Even Romegas, the face of the revolt, was manipulated and used by others to obtain their ends.

For the official historians of the Order, this revolt was a problem and an embarrassment. According to dal Pozzo, the uprising was caused by the machinations of the old and senior Hospitallers who aspired to the magistracy and who spread discontent among the young Hospitallers. Many were disgruntled at how the latest distribution of commanderies had been carried out and felt stifled by la Cassière's discipline. Among other measures, la Cassière took a very stern stance against duelling.¹⁹⁰ During the Chapter General of 1578, he emphasized how Hospitallers had to live as religious knights rather than lead a secular life. They were not to seek commanderies for personal profit and if anyone dared 'to raise his horns against his superiors', he was to be ejected from the Order like 'a diseased member' was amputated from the body.¹⁹¹ At this point, la Cassière also mentioned his wish that all courtesans be expelled from Valletta in order to preserve the sanctity of the Convent.¹⁹² The actual implementation of this measure in 1581 was what, according to dal Pozzo, tipped the scales against la Cassière and set the revolt in motion. Many clamored that his old age had debilitated his brain so that he was unfit to rule.¹⁹³ The Abbé de Vertot identified a similar set of reasons for the outbreak of the rebellion, adding that creeping national feelings were also causing unrest.¹⁹⁴

La Cassière had been elected Grand Master on 30 January 1572 when he was 69 years old. When he was deposed in 1581, he was 78. His main antagonists were Romegas, the Prior of St John's Frà Antoine Cressin, the Bailiff Frà Nouvelle Rivalta and the Bailiff Frà Martin de Duero Monroy. Romegas was a renowned military leader and hailed by many as a hero and defender of the faith. Pope Pius V wrote personally to Romegas to summon him to the defence of Christendom against the Turkish (Muslim) hordes on the eve of the Battle of Lepanto (1571).¹⁹⁵ In 1581, he was in his early fifties, very popular throughout the Convent, and likely to become Grand Master. That he ended up usurping power and going down in history as a villain was a result of his ambition and impatience, and being unwittingly manipulated by the real conspirators.¹⁹⁶ During the last years of la Cassière's reign, Frà Cressin regularly chaired meetings of the Council as the Grand Master was often missing due to problems with his feet. This was quite damaging to la Cassière as Cressin harboured a certain animosity towards him, but protocol dictated that in the absence of the Grand Master and the Bishop of Malta, the Prior was to lead the Council. Frà Rivalta and Frà Duero had their eyes on the magistracy, but, realizing that Romegas was

more popular, pushed him to the front, in the hope that if things went wrong that would work to their advantage. The Commander Frà Louis de Mailloc Sacquenville, who had a large following in the Convent, also joined the rebel side.¹⁹⁷

The situation in Malta was tense, with two irreconcilable parties vying with each other. Although Romegas and his associates controlled the Council, many officials, such as Frà François de Moreton Chanbrillan, Captain-General of the Galleys, were still loyal to la Cassière. The Romegas regime tried to silence dissident pro-Cassière voices.¹⁹⁸ This state of affairs in the Order had international repercussions, particularly in Rome. On 30 July 1581, a bitter fight erupted in St Peter's Square between a pro-Cassière party (led by Frà Giovanni Ottone Bosio and his brother Giacomo) and an anti-Cassière delegation (led by Frà Francesco di Guevera). Pope Gregory XIII (1572–1585) was furious at such insolence.¹⁹⁹ Cardinal Paul de Foix kept King Henri III of France (1574–1589) and his mother Catherine de Medici (1519–1589) informed of developments, whereas Don Hernando Torres, the Spanish ambassador, kept King Philip II of Spain (1556–1598) up-to-date.²⁰⁰ The Viceroy of Sicily, Antonio Colonna, sent three galleys to Malta under the command of his brother Pompeo, to ensure that Malta's fortresses were not seized by Spain's enemies.²⁰¹ The Pope, in turn, realising the potentially disastrous consequences of this state of uncertainty, sent to Malta as his envoy the Milanese Cardinal Gaspare Visconti (successor of St Charles Borromeo as Archbishop of Milan). Visconti was to investigate the issue and run the Order and Malta until further notice.

Upon arriving in Malta in September, he installed himself in the Magistral Palace, where he stayed until 12 January 1582.²⁰² Having summoned the whole Convent, Visconti addressed the Hospitallers and read to them a letter from Pope Gregory XIII, in which the Pontiff emphasized his and the Grand Master's patriarchal roles as fathers of the Order to whom they all owed obedience and he asserted that the Council had acted in an illicit manner.²⁰³ Visconti compiled a voluminous report in which two versions of the events emerged: one that saw Romegas and the Council as usurpers of power, the other that considered them as restorers of the law and proper government, that is, in co-operation with the Council.²⁰⁴ Significantly, in a similar revolt that had occurred in the Teutonic Order in 1470, the rebels had also argued that their actions had been aimed at restoring the law and the statutes.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, a conciliar vision of rule by a council rather than one person seemed to gain momentum during the lieutenancy of Romegas, a development which the Counter-Reformation Papacy could

never look upon favourably. For instance, the idea of the College of Cardinals as a senate underpinned by conciliarist ideals was eclipsed by papal measures to ensure a more monarchical form of government.²⁰⁶ No monarch in Europe could look positively at the forceful removal of a legitimate ruler from power. This meant that whatever international support Romegas was hoping for never materialized.

Following the arrival of Visconti, both la Cassière and Romegas made their way to Rome to present their case personally to the Pope. La Cassière left on 20 September, and Romegas eight days later, but he arrived first in Rome. The day la Cassière commenced his voyage, a terrible storm hit Malta and damaged buildings and killed livestock. Two French knights who were considered enemies of the Grand Master died from injuries suffered during this storm. All of these were taken to be signs of divine retribution for the deposition of la Cassière.²⁰⁷ The Grand Master passed through Messina and Naples before reaching Rome, his progress being warmly greeted everywhere and finally culminating in a lavish and triumphal entry into Rome organized by the Papacy. By contrast, Romegas was shunned and sidelined.²⁰⁸ The conspirators were severely reprimanded and forced to humiliate themselves in front of the Grand Master and the whole Roman curia by begging on their knees for forgiveness; in this way the hierarchy of power was reasserted. Romegas himself was absent from this ceremony because he was severely ill. All edicts and proceedings carried out during the Romegas lieutenancy were declared to be null and void, as if they had never happened; actual lines were drawn across all such documentation and a note in the margin stated 'This is cancelled by order of His Holiness'.²⁰⁹

Soon after these dramatic events, both Romegas and la Cassière died within days of each other in Rome, the former being buried there, while la Cassière was interred in Malta in the crypt of the Conventual Church. Following their demise, Pope Gregory XIII wanted to ensure the election of a man untainted by this revolt and so he put forward the names of three candidates (all French to please France), and under the supervision of Visconti, Hughes Loubenx de Verdalle was elected Grand Master. Verdalle immediately implemented a number of disciplinary measures that were aimed at restoring discipline in the Convent.²¹⁰ He ruled with an iron fist and with little reference to the Council, thereby realigning magistral authority on the path of absolutism rather than conciliarism. Henceforth, the members of the Council were meant to be loyal supporters rather than vocal counsellors. The new Grand Master also embarked on an ambitious iconographic and architectural programme. This included the production

of a new lavishly illustrated book of statutes, in which his image and coat-of-arms were reproduced a number of times to emphasize how all authority originated in and emanated from his own person. He also built a countryside palace and decorated its main hall with a series of biographical depictions. All of these measures were meant to strengthen and emphasize his authority.

Nevertheless, throughout his reign there were many dissenting voices that complained to Rome about his bad and uneven administration.²¹¹ The Papacy would listen attentively to such complaints and advise Verdalle accordingly, but in the end it was mostly concerned about bolstering his authority and maintaining discipline among the Hospitallers. In November 1582, Verdalle read out to the Council a papal bull in which the Pope made the Order acknowledge its mistake in deposing la Cassière: the aim here was to rehabilitate the late Grand Master but also to bolster the position of the new one.²¹² Then, in December 1587, Verdalle was elevated to the rank of a cardinal by Pope Sixtus V. His trip to Rome and back was marked by much pomp, ritual and celebration, all of which were meant to emphasize Verdalle's importance and authority. In this way, his status within the Order was dramatically increased and his position vis-à-vis the Bishop and the Inquisitor in Malta was also augmented. In a world and institution so thoroughly obsessed by rank and hierarchy, these things mattered a great deal. As for the other ringleaders of the revolt, their involvement left no negative impact on their careers. Frà Cressin remained Prior of St John's until he died in 1584, while Bailiff Duero and Commander Sacquenville both carried on with their careers in the Order.²¹³ In this as in many other instances, personal rank and seniority sheltered the Hospitallers from the consequences of their actions.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to present an outline of the organizational structure of the Order and particularize the noble, religious and male experience of belonging to and moving within Hospitaller ranks. The predominantly male world of the Hospitallers in the Convent in Malta (and beyond) was characterized by an intricate configuration of the correlation of power with status, patriarchy, honour, credit, age, seniority and gender. In this book, patriarchy is used to denote how men sought to control other men and how a generational element was crucial to this formulation. The organizational structure of the Order was a hierarchical one, reflecting

both the distribution of power within it, as well as mirroring the noble, privileged and patriarchal values of the social milieu from which its members hailed. The Hospitallers operated within an overall framework in which they experienced patriarchal imperatives as beneficiaries, subordinates and antagonists. Precedence and pre-eminence were crucial in determining the pecking order and chains of command. While the link between the office and its holder as a person was intimate, it was also distinct. Even though, in their actions and thoughts, early modern Hospitallers were not explicit about men as men, ideas about manliness were implicit in their approaches to groups of men. Differences between those at the two extremities of the life-course spectrum were bound to occur, yet their shared membership in a socially exclusive organization like the Order of Malta also meant that concord was as much a part of their interactions as variance was. Moreover, the variety of male hierarchical relationships within the Order was a reflection of the plurality of early modern arrangements of authority and understandings of manliness.

The insurrection of 1581 was caused by the complex configuration of competing hierarchical tensions that characterized the Order. Such a breakdown of authority throws light on the structures upon which magistral authority was normally dependent. There were always situations where Grand Masters found themselves constricted in imposing their will, such as when Hospitallers were far away at sea or when they enjoyed protection and patronage from powerful sources.²¹⁴ La Cassière's edict expelling prostitutes from Valletta could only be as effective as the weight which his word carried, and this depended on three elements: the strength of feeling of 'holy obedience' among the Hospitallers towards the Grand Master, the threat of actual punishments for disobeying, and the ability of a Grand Master to act as a source of patronage. The problems which la Cassière faced arose from his prolonged absences from the Council of the Order. This meant that he was to some extent cut off from the sentiments of his brethren and opposition could more easily build up while he was not there. Discontent about the distribution of commanderies reduced confidence in la Cassière as an effective source of patronage, while others held out the prospect of change and advancement. Without this important prop, magistral authority was weakened and parts of the Convent transferred their loyalty to the members of the Council who deposed the Grand Master. For Grand Master Verdalle and his successors, the lesson of 1581 was that consultation between the Grand Master and the Council was necessary, but within a framework unquestionably controlled by the increasingly absolutist magistral office of the seventeenth century.

Chapter 3

Religious Identity, Beliefs and Practices

Nestor: *Unless you're a good dicer, a skilful card player, an infamous whoremonger, a heavy drinker, a reckless spendthrift, a wastrel and heavily in debt, decorated with the French pox besides, hardly anyone will believe you're a knight.*¹

...

Sancho: *... better it is to be a Friar, ... than a valiant Errant Knight; ...*

Don Quixote: *... but all Men cannot be Friars; we have different Paths allotted to us, to mount to the high Seat of Eternal Felicity. Chivalry is a Religious Order, and there are Knights in the Fraternity of Saints in Heaven.*²

In the *Colloquies*, Erasmus (1466/69–1536) used the character of Nestor to evince a cynical attitude towards chivalry that was shared by many of his sixteenth-century contemporaries; on the other hand, Cervantes' Don Quixote is keen to defend knighthood as a path that is as likely to lead to heaven as that undertaken by a friar. The question of whether knighthood – particularly religious knighthood – constituted a valid religious vocation had long been debated within Christendom and was an issue that was particularly pertinent for Hospitallers. The nuances of their religious identity, beliefs and practices will be the subject of this chapter; the point of departure is the Great Hall of the Grand Master's Palace in Valletta, where one can observe the figure of *Religio* (Religion) (Figure 3.1) among the other allegories depicted there. It is a hybrid between an allegory of the Church and an allegory of the Order of Malta. She is crowned by the papal tiara, holds the Bible in her right hand, and the keys of St Peter in her left hand.³ On her chest is emblazoned the eight-pointed Hospitaller Cross. *Religio* here represents the indissoluble link between the Papacy and the Order, and how the Holy Spirit (in the form of a dove close to *Religio's* ear) guides both of them.



FIGURE 3.1 Allegory of the virtue of *Religio*, late 1570s/early 1580s, fresco, c. 270×110 cm. Palace of the President of Malta, Valletta (formerly the Grand Master's Palace). Acknowledgement: Rehabilitation Projects Office within the Ministry for Resources and Rural Affairs, Malta.

This image captures the multi-layered nature of Hospitaller faith in the early modern period. As a religious corporation, the Order had a well-organized clerical hierarchy that oversaw the formalities of religious life and practice.⁴ Both on a corporate, as well as on an individual level, the Hospitallers invested huge sums in church building and embellishment programmes. Members prayed regularly, observed their religious obligations and lived according to their vows. The Order espoused a vision of itself and its members as 'Soldiers of Christ and Servants of His Poor and Sick'. Yet a great number of Hospitallers were investigated by the Inquisition to ensure observance of the tenets of the Catholic faith. A close reading of the trial records of those Hospitallers who resorted to sorcery and superstitious

practices reveals that their motives often sprang from common concerns about survival in a dangerous world, and their desire for success in love, games of chance and other pursuits. Furthermore, the various forms of Christianity that existed from the sixteenth century, together with Islam, all influenced Hospitaller faith. *Religio* might come across as a stout solid figure, but in effect the Hospitallers' relationship with their faith was complex and volatile.

'Serve the Poor and Defend the Faith'⁵

The members of the three main military-religious orders – the Hospitallers, the Templars and the Teutonic – are frequently described as 'monks of war' or 'fighting monks'.⁶ Such misnomers reflect the difficulty of fitting these men into the religious frameworks of the Latin Church. They lie somewhere between priests, forbidden by canon law to bear arms, and crusading warriors who carried out their religious obligation through combat.⁷ In common with monks, the Hospitallers took the vows of obedience, poverty and chastity, but unlike monks, they were not bound by *stabilitas loci*, that is, to a secluded, stationary and contemplative form of religious life.⁸ Like crusaders, the Hospitallers were engaged in fighting the infidel. Nevertheless, unlike crusaders who were engaged in specific campaigns against infidels, the Hospitallers were committed to a perpetual war. Moreover, the Hospitallers' Cross was not that of the crusaders, which they were forbidden by the Papacy from taking up.⁹ Thus, the brethren of the Order of Malta were religious laymen (*religiosi laici*) and not monks.¹⁰

From the mid-twelfth century, the Order of St John underwent a rapid process of militarization, a development that the Papacy did not always favour, but which nonetheless reflected the changing and pressing needs of the Latin states in the Levant.¹¹ The military wing of the Order became its dominant facet. This evolution in the Order's functions was conditioned by local circumstances, but it was also complemented by the theological opinions that had promoted the First Crusade (1095–1099) and the others that followed.¹² The idea of fighting for God (*Militare Deo*) had its roots in the Old Testament, but was further amplified with the ideal of an army of Christ (*Militia Christi*) that emerged in the New Testament, particularly with St Paul. In his letter to the Ephesians (6:10–17), Paul borrowed the language and images of war (armour, breastplate, shield, helmet and sword) to emphasize how Christians had to be on the ready to receive God's calling.¹³ These ideas were further developed by a number of key Christian theologians, and the Papacy itself proved to be a particularly bellicose institution.¹⁴

St Augustine of Hippo (354–430) developed a theology of ‘just war’: war was warranted when it was undertaken in self-defence, administered by a legitimate authority and carried out in a humane manner free from vindictiveness, cruelty and sacking. In a different vein, St Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–c. 547) used military images in his teachings to depict his monks as battling for Christ, though this was relegated to the spiritual realm. On the other hand, Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085) used the phrase ‘Soldiers of Christ’ to denote lay warriors engaged in actual fighting to defend the Church, rather than just a spiritual battle. However, it was St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), in his book *In laude novae militiae*, written for the Templars, who sealed the link between warfare and piety. St Bernard championed the Templars (and hence the brethren of the other military-religious orders) as a new form of knighthood that combined spiritual and temporal concerns in the quest to serve God in the pre-eminent task of defending Christendom. Pope Innocent II (1130–1143), in a letter to the Templars, told them that in their deeds they carried out the words of the Gospel: ‘Greater love than this no man hath, that a man lay down his life for his friends (John 15:13).’ Furthermore, St Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274) described bearing arms in the service of God as a penitential activity, when this was performed in an appropriate frame of mind.¹⁵ Even so, it needs to be emphasized that attitudes towards the military orders were far from unequivocal and a strand of theological thought opposed to religious knights was constantly present. Coming to terms with the idea and implications of *Militare Deo* and the *Militia Christi* was a recurrent controversy in medieval theology, engaging lay people, Popes, kings, Cluniacs, Cistercians, Franciscans and the military orders themselves across Latin Christendom.¹⁶

In medieval theology there were two discourses dealing with religious combat: one that gauged this in terms of an internal spiritual struggle with the forces of the devil; another that justified the need for the existence of religious knights who fought on behalf of Christ and his Church against infidels, heretics and barbarians. These ideas resonated in the military imagery that characterized many works published in the wake of the Counter-Reformation. In his *Enchiridion Militis Christi* (1503), Erasmus criticized those who practised traditional Christianity without understanding the true meaning of the words of Christ. He used a language reminiscent of that of St Paul in his use of a military type of discourse to illustrate how a Christian needs to carry out a spiritual battle, in which his greatest weapon is his faith.¹⁷ Nevertheless, Erasmus disapproved of those who proposed a crusade to defend Europe from the looming threat of an Ottoman invasion.

For him, as for many other humanists, the way to defend Europe was to convert the Turks (Muslims) through persuasion and Christian example; failing that, it would be up to the secular powers to manage the war effort. St Thomas More (1478–1535) had a more nuanced vision of this situation: while he may not have advocated a crusade, he did consider force to be the most appropriate way to save Christendom from the Turk without and the heretic within.¹⁸

The idea that life for a true Christian consists of a continuous interior battle between good and evil was also at the heart of St Ignatius of Loyola's (1491–1556) *Exercitia Spirituality*, which consists of a systematic series of meditations to be carried out in a disciplined manner over a given period that has a quasi-militaristic drill to it. Inspired by Ignatius' teachings and under orders from the third Jesuit General of the Society Francesco Borgia (1510–1572), the Jesuit Antonio Possevino (1534–1611) published *Il soldato christiano* in c. 1569. This was a manual for soldiers and officers who had to fight heretics and Turks. Possevino emphasized how the Christian discipline and mission of Catholic soldiers made them superior to heretics who did not serve the true Church and faith of Christ. In the early seventeenth century, the model of the 'Soldier of Christ' was transformed into the 'Soldier of the Church': in *Il soldato di santa chiesa* (1606), written by the papal military officer Cesare Palazzolo (1541–1607), the Soldiers of the Church were meant to defend the Papacy from incursions against its jurisdiction by other governments.¹⁹ The language of spiritual warfare was further elaborated by Lorenzo Scupoli (1530–1610) in his book *Combattimento spirituale* of c. 1589. Addressed to a nun of his Theatine Order, this book followed in the tradition of borrowing military terminology and adapting it to spiritual concerns; Jesus became the 'supreme Captain', to whom 'the Soldiers of Christ' – all human beings – looked for direction in the battle against evil, the devil and human nature.²⁰ The final section of the book deals with the infirm and how to assist them to die well. Thus, a book concerned with spiritual combat acknowledged the complementary dynamic between fighting and caring.²¹

The ideas to be found in these books were echoed in works that were published by or about Hospitallers. In his *Ricordi*, Frà Castiglione advised that when in charge of an army, a Hospitaller must always act virtuously to ensure God's support.²² This idea of the Hospitallers as Soldiers of Christ, who combined worldly violence with an inner spiritual combat, resonated strongly in the prescriptive literature, as well as in other forms of documentation. In *L'idea del cavalier gerosolimitano* of 1662, the link between physical and spiritual violence culminates in the person of the protagonist of the

book, Frà D. Agostino Grimaldo e Rosso, who died while fighting Muslims and was, therefore, described as a martyr of the faith.²³ In his *Breve e particolare istruzione* of 1724, Frà Marc'Antonio Zondadari, a future Grand Master, emphasized that what made the Order distinct and non-monastic was its double mission of providing hospitality and bearing arms. Though war was to be despised, care had to be taken that adequate preparations be in place to meet it; he went into great detail about how this should be done, showing his passion for military affairs, but above all the importance of trusting in God.²⁴ In their emphasis on interiority and spiritual regeneration, these books evince the impact of Counter-Reformation religiosity on the Hospitallers.

This literature emphasizes that the religious nature of the Order was both contemplative and active.²⁵ The Order had emerged from the milieu of medieval contemplative monasticism. Yet, the military-religious orders may have more in common with the mendicant orders of friars (especially Franciscans and Dominicans) than with monks; in particular, they often shared an itinerant lifestyle. On the other hand, while the Hospitallers fought with swords, the friars fought with words.²⁶ In its capacity as an active nursing institution, the Order of Malta somewhat prefigured the new religious orders of the sixteenth century that were dedicated almost exclusively to carrying out an apostolic service among the laity, particularly among the poor.²⁷ Two of the more pronounced differences between the old and the new orders were that the new orders tended to have a 'constitution' rather than a 'rule' and this allowed them greater flexibility of action; the new orders also led lives that were less solitary and contemplative, and this permitted them to carry out their apostolate, including care of the sick and orphans, and education.²⁸ In the case of the Order of Malta, it retained much of its medieval organizational machinery throughout the early modern period and was, thus, governed according to a rule, but this did not hinder it from being versatile in its administration. Moreover, though all three ranks within the Order – knights, chaplains, and the servants-at-arms – adhered to certain religious offices and hours, they were also engaged in other military, naval, nursing, administrative and diplomatic activities.

The Hospitallers and many of the new religious orders shared an interest in hospitality, a practice that was at the very heart of the Hospitallers' original mission. From early on in its history, the Order gave the appellation of 'Lords' to the sick it cared for, so that the Master had the designation of 'Servant of the Poor and the Sick'.²⁹ These traditions were maintained and elaborated in Malta. Between 1574 and 1575, the Apostolic Visitor in Malta noted how every Friday the Grand Master would go in procession from Valletta to Vittoriosa to visit the Holy Infirmary (which was still there) and

serve the sick.³⁰ The Holy Infirmary existed for the service of ‘our Lords the sick and the poor of Christ’; and the Grand Masters referred to themselves in their official title as the ‘custodians of the poor of Jesus Christ’.³¹ The Grand Masters served the sick at the Holy Infirmary and at the Magistral Palace, where in imitation of Christ’s washing of the feet of the Apostles, they served food on a daily basis to 12 poor men.³² The Order developed a language and imagery of service towards the sick and the poor, in which the Order as whole, but the Grand Master in particular, likened themselves to Christ, and in particular to the concept of *Christus Medicus*, as developed by St Augustine.³³ Figure 3.2 shows a scene from the Holy Infirmary; the Latin



FIGURE 3.2 ‘On Hospitality’, 1588, engraving, 18×14 cm. *Statuta Hospitalis Hierusalem*, 30. Acknowledgement: © National Library of Malta.

motto at its top reads 'In serving the infirm one governs most firmly'.³⁴ In this equation the provision of a service resulted in the empowerment, rather than the subordination, of the one providing the service.

The image shows brother Hospitallers and surgeons attending the various infirm, each in an individual bed with curtains. This was a privilege and luxury by early modern standards, but one which had to be accorded to the sick who stood for Christ himself. At the far end of the hall stood an altar with a painting of the crucifixion, the ward being at the same time a church, so that religion permeated every aspect of the Holy Infirmarium; hence, this was a place where both body and soul could be healed.³⁵ The physician on the right takes the pulse of a patient, a routine medical procedure. At the same time, holding someone else's pulse had symbolic meaning, in this case of the Order protecting the weak and leading them from a state of ill-health to one of well-being.³⁶ Through the Holy Infirmarium, the Order also helped poor single and repentant women, as well as abandoned children. As regards the latter, there was particular emphasis on the importance of providing them with adequate religious instruction.³⁷

The twin functions of the Order of Malta of fighting and nursing complemented each other and were infused with sacred meaning.³⁸ Various allegories of the Order painted during the course of the seventeenth century showed Hospitallers in suits of armour assisting the sick while galleys waged war against Muslim vessels.³⁹ In an allegory entitled the 'Triumph of the Order', painted above the main door of St John's Conventual Church, the standard of the Order was carried by the goddess Minerva, depicted in her earliest form as a goddess of war who supported just causes. Knights and soldiers lie dead in heaps, while angels descend from the sky holding palm fronds, symbols of martyrdom.⁴⁰ Thus, alongside the ideals of the Soldiers of Christ and servants of Christ's sick, the Hospitallers were also encouraged to espouse a vision of themselves as martyrs of the faith.⁴¹ The victory of the Hospitallers over the Ottomans during the Great Siege of 1565 led to the composition of various poems of praise in Latin and in vernacular languages. One poem described how 'The Soldiers of CHRIST, who are also his sons; Voluntarily opened up their hearts to receive death'.⁴² The allure of the Siege provided the Order with many admirers and it also cemented the ideal of the Soldier of Christ within its own ranks: male bonding, heroism and a militant faith were bound together through this glorious victory that had its truths, as well as its myths. Thus, Frà Aleramo Parpaglia, who was twice investigated for murder, but who died fighting during the Siege, was included among the saints and heroes of the Order depicted on the vault of St John's Conventual Church.⁴³ The painter Bartolomeo

Garagona (1584–1614) created a synthesis of these ideals when he produced his ‘Martyrs of St Elmo’, a lunette that was designed for the Oratory of St John’s.⁴⁴ A near-contemporary description of this lunette explains how it was full of brutally murdered knights who had suffered multiple injuries, been decapitated, stuck onto wooden poles and thrown into the sea, when the Ottomans captured Fort St Elmo in 1565.⁴⁵ On that occasion, the Order had given witness in blood to the steadfastness of its mission, for each fallen Hospitaller was, in turn, a martyr of the faith.

During the seventeenth century, the Order encouraged the veneration of the cult of the Blessed Adrian Fortescue, an English gentleman executed by King Henry VIII on 9 July 1539, who was believed to be a Hospitaller martyr. Modern scholarship has in fact shown that Fortescue was not a Hospitaller, a misconception that originated in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, this does not detract from the significance of this cult in demonstrating the centrality of martyrdom to Hospitaller mentality; it was also another way in which the Order would have striven to re-invigorate the defunct English *langue* by promoting an English Hospitaller martyr.⁴⁷ In this vein, letters from the Grand Masters to the Papacy and other sovereigns would often highlight the knights’ preparedness to spill their blood for the faith.⁴⁸ From the early seventeenth century, the Order’s armoury was set up inside the Magistral Palace, where besides serving as a weapons’ depository, it was rapidly developed into an antiquarian collection that exalted the Order’s historic military past and sacrifice for the faith.⁴⁹ This emphasis on martyrdom must be set within a wider European context of an age characterized by religious wars and missionary activity, which, in turn, made martyrdom a popular iconographical subject.⁵⁰ One of the most renowned works throughout the seventeenth century was in fact Antonio Gallonio’s *De Sanctorum Martyrum Cruciatibus* (1602), in which a very explicit link was made between being a Soldier of Christ and undergoing martyrdom.⁵¹

The vocabulary of Soldiers of Christ and Martyrs of the Faith gradually expanded to equate the Hospitallers with the Maccabees. There are four books of the Maccabees that have survived from early Judaism, but only the first two form part of Catholic canon (and none of the four actually made it into the canon of the Hebrew Bible, the Tanakh). They narrate how the Jewish priestly family of the Hasmoneans became freedom fighters and reinstated the independence of Israel through a number of wars, fought with the help of God, against huge odds. In the first book in particular, the main protagonist Judas Maccabeus is portrayed as a divinely ordained and assisted military leader, while the second book emphasizes the importance

of martyrdom as a means to attain success over enemies.⁵² This twofold vision of the Maccabees as divinely inspired soldiers and martyrs appealed to Hospitaller sensibilities. Furthermore, according to one account of the foundation of the Order, Judas Maccabeus himself played a part in its inception.⁵³ In a set of instructions for conventual chaplains, the Maltese Hospitaller Chaplain Frà Fabrizio Cagliola explained how within the Order the two functions of hospitality and militia were harmoniously combined: by following the example of the Holy Maccabees, the Hospitallers fought to defend the Faith in the belief that 'no man can hath greater love, than he who lays down his life for his Friends, that is for Catholics'.⁵⁴ Frà Cagliola used the same biblical verse that Pope Innocent II had invoked to encourage the Templars in their endeavours (John 15:13), to give heart to the Hospitallers; however, he qualified the term 'Friends' to refer only to Catholics. The Commander de Cany argued that a Hospitaller was not to carry himself like a secular warrior, but as a Soldier of Christ, and as a Maccabee of the New Law, always prepared to lay down his life.⁵⁵ For Inquisitor Angelo Ranuzzi, the ultimate aim of the Order was to fight the Turks in order to glorify God. Admittedly this was a daunting task, given the Turks' superior numbers and resources, yet this is what made the venture even more pleasing to God, as it offered the possibility of martyrdom and glory.⁵⁶ Just like the Maccabees, it was in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds that the Hospitallers had to trust most in God. If a Hospitaller fell fighting the infidels, his death was considered to be that of a martyr.

The essence of the Hospitallers' religious ideal and mission was encapsulated in its emblem, the eight-pointed Hospitaller Cross (Figure 3.3) that was found in most Hospitaller imagery. The eight tips of this cross were considered to stand for the eight beatitudes that Jesus preached in his 'Sermon on the Mount' (Mt. 5:3–12).⁵⁷ Furthermore, for the Hospitallers themselves and for many Christians in general, this was a badge of military excellence, representing an Order that acted as the shield of Europe against the Ottomans.⁵⁸ It provided the Order with a visual synthesis of its dual religious nature, being both contemplative and active, warlike and curative. The religious and military aspects of the Order functioned harmoniously and without contradicting each other. They were two integral components of one indivisible religious company that operated under papal aegis.

Yet some Christians held mixed feelings in regard to the eight-pointed cross. In the 1580s, the Senate of Venice dubbed the Hospitallers as 'corsairs parading crosses', indicating Venice's scepticism of the religious sincerity of Hospitaller activities.⁵⁹ In January 1580, a group of merchants



FIGURE 3.3 The eight-pointed Hospitaller Cross. Detail from the façade of the Church of San Giovannino dei Cavalieri, Florence. (Photo: the author).

from Ancona, in Italy, entreated the Pope to force the Knight Frà Bernardo Santabiti to compensate them for the booty he had forcibly taken away from them during a corsairing expedition.⁶⁰ In 1629, the Consul of the Greeks in Malta claimed that he had obtained a papal document that allowed him to seek compensation on behalf of the Greeks whose goods had been taken by those flying the eight-pointed cross.⁶¹ Moreover, the strand of sceptical thinking about the military orders and ‘fighting for God’ that had developed during the Middle Ages resonated in this period, as well. The Spanish theologian Francisco de Vitoria (1486–1546), and his followers, were critical of the idea that violence could be justified by placing it under Christ’s authority. War could not be justified as part of a divine plan, but in terms of the ‘common good’, defined in relation to earthly laws.⁶² Furthermore, the other military–religious orders operating in early modern Europe, particularly in the Iberian Peninsula, became extensions of their national crowns, and by the mid-seventeenth century these orders had dropped the ideal of the ‘Soldier of Christ’, which they had been supposed to practice.⁶³ Thus, the climate of opinion across Europe was far from being unanimously favourable to an institution of religious knights.

Nevertheless, the Order of Malta was a distinctive European organization, seen by some commentators as providing a perfect solution to the problems of intra-European warfare in the sixteenth century. For instance, the prominent Huguenot captain François de la Noue (1531–1591) was of the idea

that those who were inclined towards war should join the Order to channel their energies in fighting the Turks, the true enemies of Europe.⁶⁴ The Chapter General of 1597 asserted that the Order was a Christian Republic dedicated to fight the hosts of the barbarian infidels who were the enemies of the Catholic faith on the fringes of Europe. This it did through arms, as well as through its hospital, which, it was argued, helped keep Europe disease free.⁶⁵ The Papacy never doubted the utility of the Order, which continued to figure prominently in its ideal of a united Christendom against Islam.⁶⁶ Thus, a 'Map of Malta' was included among the charts depicted in the Gallery of Maps (c. 1580–c. 1581) inside the Vatican Palace. The lower part shows the Hospitaller outposts around the Grand Harbour being besieged by the Ottomans in 1565; the upper part shows the island after the Siege, with the outline of the new city of Valletta visible. Above the island, there is a sword-wielding angel with the eight-pointed Cross of the Order emblazoned on its chest. The angel also carries a book with the inscription 'Malta freed from the Siege'.⁶⁷ As a bastion of Christendom, Malta's purpose within the iconography of the Gallery of Maps was to stand as a reminder of one of the Church's greatest victories over Islam.⁶⁸ These themes continued to resonate throughout the early modern period; in 1667, the Inquisitor of Malta, Angelo Ranuzzi, wrote to Rome and reaffirmed the idea of Hospitaller Malta as 'the bulwark of Italy', and, hence, Europe.⁶⁹

Roman Catholic Devotions

The second rank within the Order was constituted of conventual chaplains who were responsible for the running of Hospitaller churches and religious services in Malta and across Europe wherever the Order was present. The overall control and organization of this aspect of the Order's life was the responsibility of the Conventual Prior.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, all Hospitallers were expected to adhere to the liturgy and canonical hours observed in their Order.⁷¹ While still in the Holy Land, there was a detailed regime of prayers, masses, processions and observances they had to fulfill, which included reciting 150 *paternosters* every day.⁷² These observances were maintained in Malta, and there was an increasing emphasis on the importance of every knight observing the *paternoster* obligation. Frà Castiglione encouraged Hospitallers to hear Mass on a daily basis, to receive communion at least four times a year and to confess regularly. Furthermore, there were a number of prayers that a Hospitaller had to recite when he woke up and went to bed. In this way, a Hospitaller could hope to benefit from the

protection of Christ and the Virgin Mary day and night.⁷³ While sailing on the galleys, the level of expected religious observance was no less than on land. On every vessel there was a chaplain who was second only to the captain in terms of rank, and who was expected to cater to the religious needs of all the crew, but especially the young. Since all Hospitallers were religious, they were obliged to take communion on seven particular feasts (the First Sunday of Lent, Easter, Pentecost, Birth of St John the Baptist, the Assumption, the Immaculate Conception, and Christmas), confess and take the Eucharist prior to every trip, observe fasting and recite the daily prayers.⁷⁴ Some had breviaries that would help them in their prayers.⁷⁵

This was a world characterized by a belief in divine intervention and a resignation to the will of God. In 1556, the Conventual Chaplain Frà Stamato Condo attempted to steal some jewels from in front of the highly revered icon of Our Lady of Philermos. According to the Order's historian, his arm stiffened the moment he touched the jewels and remained paralysed for the rest of his life, an example to other would-be sacrilegious thieves.⁷⁶ Both in victory, as well as in defeat, the will of God was a driving force behind events that had to be acknowledged and respected; so thought Grand Master la Valette of his victory over the Ottomans in 1565, as did Frà Simon le Petit of the setback suffered by the galleys of the Order in August 1628.⁷⁷ When faced with the difficult and daunting task of addressing some of the less-than-pious tendencies within the Order, such as the frequenting of prostitutes, the more zealous Hospitallers relied on the assistance of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁸ In 1631, Frà Lorenzo Rosa, Resident Minister of the Order in Rome, admonished his fellow Hospitallers not to disturb the ongoing Chapter General, but rather to let the Holy Spirit guide the assembly.⁷⁹

In an environment steeped in religion, prayer was seen as a most effective means through which daily occurrences and larger events could be influenced. In 1636, Grand Master de Paule wrote to Cardinal Barberini, telling him that as he lay on his deathbed and as fears of an impending Ottoman invasion grew, all he could do was resign himself, his Order and the island to the divine protection of God.⁸⁰ In 1647, when famine was looming, Frà Henri de Merles Beauchamp rested his faith in God and St John the Baptist to send to Malta a wheat-laden vessel.⁸¹ When everything else failed, and when there was no other human being to whom to turn for protection and solace, even the more shady characters turned to God in their distress. This is most clearly evinced in the silent witness provided by the many graffiti carved on the walls of the dungeons of Fort St Angelo in Vittoriosa by miscreant Hospitallers.⁸² The Hospitallers locked up in their dark cells

carved out the Sign of the Cross as a means to focus their prayers and as a symbol of redemption and penitence.⁸³

When, during the Revolt of 1581, the rebels went to arrest Grand Master la Cassière, they found him in his chamber holding and contemplating a crucifix; like Jesus on the Cross (Luke 23:34), la Cassière exclaimed 'Christ . . . forgive these persons, for they know not what they are doing'.⁸⁴ He then started blessing the insurgents with his crucifix, but Romegas took it away from him and escorted him out of the palace, where a huge crowd of armed knights and soldiers met them. At the sight of this armed escort, la Cassière remarked, 'With swords and clubs you have come to forcibly take me'. This was reminiscent of Christ's words in the garden of Gethsemane when the temple priests and guards came to arrest him (Mk. 14:48; Luke 22:52).⁸⁵ The inspiration to make these parallels between his experience and that of the Agony in the Garden and the Crucifixion, reflects the increasing devotional focus on these moments in the life of Christ in the late sixteenth century.⁸⁶ In a very conscious manner, la Cassière identified his own predicament with that of the Passion of Christ, as a way to further highlight his righteousness in contrast to the evil machinations of his enemies.

Besides the scope of personal prayer, various Grand Masters commanded those Hospitallers present in the Convent, as well as the Maltese population in general, to join in collective acts of worship in times of great political tension or in the face of natural calamities. Thus, between 1653 and 1654, Grand Master Lascaris had to handle a particularly delicate situation when 28 French vessels captained by the Duke of Guise were refused entry into Malta because it was suspected that this fleet was on its way to attack Spanish possessions in southern Italy. This action infuriated the French Court, which caused Lascaris infinite worries and spurred him to initiate an intensive diplomatic campaign. He also ordered that the Blessed Sacrament be continuously displayed for prayers and to curtail Carnival celebrations, informing people that this was a time for mortification rather than merriment.⁸⁷ It is telling that Lascaris considered human diplomatic activity insufficient if not coupled with a resort to divine providence. Yet, prayer alone was not enough; it had to be accompanied by restraint in people's behaviour and acts of contrition. Following a major earthquake in 1693, which was considered to be a visitation of God's wrath, the Grand Master suspended all legal litigation, prohibited all theatre and merry-making, and gave ample charity to the poor. At the same time, the Bishop of Malta ordered the Blessed Sacrament to be exposed, processions were to be held and prayers said to placate God.⁸⁸

The Blessed Sacrament, therefore, held a place of honour and veneration among the Hospitallers. According to Catholic theology, this was the actual manifestation of Christ on earth, embodying his corporeal presence among humanity.⁸⁹ The link between the Order, God and war was continuously restated as the particular brand of Hospitaller faith. This message was summarised in the title page to the section of the Statutes that dealt with the administration of the Order's churches and religious matters (Figure 3.4). The Latin motto at the top: 'Piety be unto God – may He teach the hands to fight', was an adaptation of Psalm 144:1, David's prayer for rescue and



FIGURE 3.4 'On the Church', 1588, engraving, 18×14 cm. *Statuta Hospitalis Hierusalem*, 18. Acknowledgment: © National Library of Malta.

prosperity.⁹⁰ As was outlined above, the Order presented itself as a small entity that, with the help of God, carried out its mission against a much larger enemy (the Ottomans). Therefore, the parallel with David's struggle against his formidable enemies fitted well within this pattern. Furthermore, this image is particularly rich in iconographic elements centred on the Eucharist that captured the Tridentine reassertion of the primacy of this sacrament. On the left hand side, there is a *Corpus Christi* procession that is making its way into the Conventual Church.⁹¹ The Bishop or Prior walks underneath a baldachin and carries a monstrance containing the Host, the procession serving as an occasion for the display of a collective devotion towards Christ. Many of those taking part in the procession are carrying candles, signifying how Christ is the light of the world that clears the darkness of error, heresy and doubt.⁹²

Alongside the devotion to Christ and the Blessed Sacrament, there was also an intense veneration of the saints within the Order. St Michael the Archangel and St George the dragon slayer were particularly revered because of their physical prowess.⁹³ The Order itself had a considerable number of saints and blessed, many of whom were depicted on the ceiling of St John's Conventual Church, the first time that these were all depicted together in one monumental place, thereby proclaiming the virtue and devotion to be found within Hospitaller ranks.⁹⁴ Prior to this, a catalogue of Hospitaller saints and blessed was published by Bosio, an official historian of the Order, which included illustrative prints.⁹⁵ The images that accompanied this volume were, in accordance with the new dictates of the Counter-Reformation, expressive of a regimented devotion towards images that left no room for ambiguity in recognising the attributes of sainthood.⁹⁶ Bosio commenced his account with the Blessed Gerard, considered as the founder of the Order, followed by the Blessed Raymond de Puy, the Blessed Peter of Imola, St Ubaldesca, St Toscana, St Hugo of Genova, the Blessed Gerlando, St Nicasio Martyr, St Flora, Queen Sancha of Aragon and King Andrea of Hungary. All of these were held up as models for the Hospitallers to imitate. So as to encourage such devotion, various Grand Masters sought to acquire and bring to Malta paintings and relics of these saints: Grand Master Verdalle had some relics of St Ubaldesca transferred from the Order's church in Pisa to the Conventual Church in Valletta. The same Verdalle had a life-size portrait of St Hugo of Genova in his bedroom. Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt instructed the knight Frà Don Giosepe de Inganativo to compile information about the Blessed Gerlando.⁹⁷

The dynamism of Hospitaller faith is reflected in the way devotion towards old saints was maintained and renewed, while at the same time space was

found to integrate the cults of new Counter-Reformation saints such as Charles Borromeo, François de Sales, Francis Xavier and Teresa of Avila.⁹⁸ The model Counter-Reformation saint was aristocratic, male, self-disciplined and full of missionary zeal, all traits that had a wide appeal for the Hospitallers.⁹⁹ It is necessary to recognize that the history of the cult of the saints and the history of canonization are distinct, and that the challenge for the Church was how to reconcile the universal with the particular.¹⁰⁰ The Hospitallers engaged with the new saints and these, in turn, became acclimatized to Hospitaller devotions. The cult of St Francis Xavier was particularly strong among the Hospitallers, especially with those who hailed from the northern reaches of Spain, from where Xavier himself had originated.¹⁰¹ The canonisation of Xavier – along with Ignatius of Loyola – in 1622 was marked by a solemn high Mass in St John's Conventual Church in which many Hospitallers participated.¹⁰² St Xavier fitted well within the military–nursing paradigm of Hospitaller faith. His active missionary life appealed to the adventurous mode of the Hospitallers, while his fame as a healing saint meant that his cult gained a central place in Hospitaller healing practices. Thus, there was an altar dedicated to him inside the Women's Hospital, while in January 1639 Grand Master Lascaris attributed his recovery from a serious ailment to the intercession of St Xavier.¹⁰³ Numerous Hospitallers honoured St Xavier in various ways: in 1647, the Italian Frà Geronimo Merullo added the figure of St Xavier in a painting of *Our Lady and Child Jesus* in one of the side chapels of the Jesuit Church in Valletta; in 1658, the Aragonese Grand Master Martin de Redin commissioned a painting of St Xavier that was placed in the Chapel of the *Langue* of Aragon, Catalonia and Navarre inside St John's; in 1659, the Prior of Navarre, Frà Giovanni Galiano, instituted the celebration of the feast of St Xavier at St John's, and in 1671 he donated a relic of the saint to the same Church; and in 1699, the Aragonese Grand Master Ramon Perellos y Roccaful attended a solemn high Mass at the Jesuits' Church in honour of St Xavier.¹⁰⁴

Nevertheless, the two strongest cults within the Order were those of the Virgin Mary and of St John the Baptist, patron saint of the Order. Together, they were considered to be the divine protectors and intermediaries of the Order in front of God. Mary was the Mother of the Order to whom Hospitallers could turn individually and collectively for assistance and comfort in times of peril.¹⁰⁵ Thus, from the fourteenth century in Rhodes, there developed a strong association between the Order and the icon of the Madonna of Philermos, which together with a piece of the True Cross and the relic of the right arm of John the Baptist, were considered to be the

most valued possessions of the Order.¹⁰⁶ The victory of the Hospitallers during the Siege of Rhodes of 1480 was attributed to the Madonna of Philermos. During the Siege of Malta of 1565, a dove was seen perched over the icon, which was taken to be a divine sign, and when the city of Valletta started being built in 1566, the first building to be erected was that of Our Lady of Victories, where the icon was revered until 1578. The icon was subsequently transferred to a specifically designated chapel inside the Conventual Church of St John. Since the Ottomans lifted their Siege of Malta on 8 September, the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady, veneration of Mary, and for the Madonna of Philermos in particular, continued to grow with many Hospitallers presenting devotional offerings.¹⁰⁷ Hospitaller Marian devotion was directed towards Mary's various manifestations – the Annunciation, the Assumption, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Our Lady of Sorrows, the Purification, Our Lady of Rescue – all of which served to focus Hospitaller prayer onto particular aspects. This devotion was, in turn, marked through the building of chapels, setting up of altars, commissioning and restoring paintings, making vows, bequeathing money towards feasts and taking part in them, as well as participation in Marian associations like the Dominican Confraternity of the Rosary and the Jesuit Marian Sodality. The Knight Frà Pietro Villavincente even carried out himself the restoration of a Marian painting as a pious act of devotion.¹⁰⁸

The ex-voto painting with the Virgin Mary at the heart of it, as queen and rescuer of the Hospitallers was a recurrent iconographic theme. Ex-votos were meant to commemorate the acquisition of a grace, act as reminders of God's goodwill towards the Hospitallers and generate a sense of the immediacy of the divine on earth.¹⁰⁹ The many paintings that were produced as thanksgiving for divine assistance are further indication of the mental universe of the Hospitallers. In particular, those who faced difficulties at sea sought Mary's intervention.¹¹⁰ Entire churches in Malta, such as the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Graces in Ħaż Żabbar, were dedicated to the cult of Mary as mother and protector of the Hospitallers. Besides the paintings, the Sanctuary also possessed vestments, silver oil lamps, models of galleys, decorations and enemy banners, weapons and iron spurs offered by combatants after campaigns and battles, many of which were embossed with the coats of arms of various Hospitallers.¹¹¹ In 1685, Frà Wolfgang Philip Gutenberg presented the painting shown in Figure 3.5 to the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Mellieħa, another major Marian temple in Malta, for her intercession on 25 April 1678, when a galley squadron was almost lost in a storm in the waters near Taranto.¹¹² This is a typical ex-voto in that it recalls the event and shows the presence of the supernatural in the world through



FIGURE 3.5 Stefano Erardi (attributed), ex-voto painting, 1685, 99.1×124.5 cm. Sanctuary of Our Lady of Mellieħa, Malta. Acknowledgement: The Sanctuary of Our Lady of Mellieħa, Malta.

the apparition of Mary with the infant Jesus. This image also recalls a romantic–chivalric scene where a knight in shining armor professes his undying love for his lady. Such a romantic streak could also be found in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Prussia, where the Teutonic Knights held jousting tournaments in honour of Mary.¹¹³ Nevertheless, in this image, there is what can be described as a gendered role reversal, since it is the woman who does the rescuing, not the man; similarly Maximilian of Bavaria (1573–1651) designated Mary as *Generalissima* of the Catholic armies at the Battle of the White Mountain (1620).¹¹⁴ Such a reading is an example of the contradictions inherent in the patriarchal values of early modern society. On the other hand, the lowered eyes of the Virgin do not actually meet those of the young knight, as modesty in female–male encounters was vital, even in an allegorical/celestial setting. In contrast, the eyes of the knight meet those of Jesus, a reminder that Mary’s role was not to carry out the actual rescuing herself, but to intercede with God on behalf of man, a feminine function that was more in line with traditional patriarchal values.

If Mary was seen as the archetypal female character in her function as Mother of the Order, John the Baptist was held up as a paragon of modesty and moderation: virtues which should characterise good Christian men.

John the Baptist was considered to be a virgin saint and had long been held as a model for virtuous chaste leaders.¹¹⁵ Hence, the Baptist's virginity played a central role in the image of the Order itself. Frà Castiglione encouraged all Hospitallers to look upon John the Baptist and mould their lives on his example, particularly by eating in moderation, dressing modestly and leading a generally restrained life-style.¹¹⁶ When Frà de Cany wrote his reflections about being a Hospitaller, he dedicated his work to John the Baptist. Frà de Cany asked the Saint to stand by his side and guide him in his chosen path as a Hospitaller; he also asserted that the constitutions of the Order had been inspired by the Saint.¹¹⁷ Like Castiglione, de Cany posited John the Baptist as embodying an ideal of modesty that Hospitallers should follow in order to shun pomp and vanity. By doing this, and by being just, a Knight of St John would be blessed by the blooming of love in his heart that would make him a man of God and an inspiring model for other Hospitallers.¹¹⁸

The Order strove to enhance the cult of John the Baptist and in the process associate itself even more intimately with him. Between 1480 and 1483, ten editions in four different languages were published of *De translatione sacrae dextrae*, written by the Vice-Chancellor of the Order Gulliaume Caoursin. This book explained how the Order came to be in possession of the relic of the right arm of John the Baptist.¹¹⁹ In the 1480s, Geertgen tot Sint Jans was commissioned by the Hospitallers in the city of Haarlem in the Netherlands to paint the *Burning of the Bones of John the Baptist*.¹²⁰ In this image, real and legendary aspects of the story of how a group of unidentified monks had salvaged some of the Baptist's bones from the flames were adapted to suit Hospitaller needs. In the painting, the unidentified monks became Hospitallers, thereby asserting their ancient links with John the Baptist.¹²¹ In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, this painting was used by the brethren at Haarlem as a cultural weapon with which to defy the Calvinist city council which wanted to dissolve their commandery; just as those early Hospitallers had defied the Emperor Julian, so now they were defying the Haarlem magistrates in the defence of the Catholic faith.¹²²

The reverence with which John the Baptist was held in the Order meant that he came to occupy a major iconographic role in Hospitaller art.¹²³ In fact, some of the earliest artistic materials pertaining to the Order's first years in Malta include two statues of John the Baptist.¹²⁴ The cult of the Baptist, who as the precursor of Christ commands an especially important place in the story of salvation, reached its artistic apogee in the Conventual Church over the course of the seventeenth century.¹²⁵ The artist Mattia Preti, whose various works for the Order earned him the title of Knight of

Obedience, decorated the entire nave ceiling between 1661 and 1666 with the life story of John the Baptist, forging a link between John as precursor of Christ and John as protector of the Order.¹²⁶ The veneration of the Baptist within the Order and in the Conventual Church was enhanced by the presence of the most important relic of the saint: his right hand, with which he had baptized Christ. The relic was the focus of a strong cult, and was at the heart of elaborate celebrations and processions held every 24 June, the feast of John the Baptist, which included a fireworks display.¹²⁷ Within the Conventual Church, the oratory, built between 1602 and 1605, was specifically dedicated to the beheading of John the Baptist. In 1608 Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt commissioned Caravaggio to produce *The Beheading of St John the Baptist*, in time for the feast of the Decapitation of John the Baptist on 29 August 1608. This painting was meant to awe and impress those who beheld it, the oratory serving both as a place of prayer as well as a place where errant Hospitallers were judged by their peers.¹²⁸ To encourage devotion towards the Baptist, during the 1680s Preti was commissioned to redecorate the Oratory in a Baroque style, and in 1689 a new lavish reliquary with the right hand of the saint was placed inside it, just in front of *The Beheading*. Grand Master Gregorio Carafa (1680–1690), who was especially fond of the relic with which he associated his naval successes, laboured continuously to further augment veneration for it.¹²⁹ Inside the Conventual Church, and within the Oratory in particular, a symbiotic relationship was created between architecture, images, reliquary and relic, in which each object reinforced the significance of the other, creating a powerful sense of the wonder of the divine that surrounded its beholder.¹³⁰

Relics, therefore, played an important part in Hospitaller faith. The Order as a corporation, the Grand Masters, and many individual Hospitallers went to great lengths to acquire relics for the Order and paid phenomenal sums to have them encased in precious reliquaries. Rome was the greatest source of relics and the Catholic Church, during the 25th session of the Council of Trent re-affirmed the validity for Christians of venerating the saints and their holy relics. At the same time, it insisted that visitations to relics were not to be accompanied by revelling and drunkenness and that no new relics were to be recognized without adequate diocesan approval.¹³¹ The Order brought to Malta a number of relics from Rhodes, some in their own reliquaries, whereas others were stored together in caskets; many others were acquired over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Relics were considered to be channels of divine power: in March 1677, Grand Master Nicolas Cotoner (1663–1680) sent 150 gold rings that had

been pressed against the relic of the right hand of John the Baptist to Pope Innocent X, explaining their virtue of affording protection to their wearers.¹³² Relics were also important as precious gifts that could be bestowed (and received) to further political aims. Gift-exchange in early modern Europe was a complex process that generated opportunities, as well as problems.¹³³ When the French Queen, Anne of Austria, gave birth to the dauphin Louis XIV in 1638, the Order gave her the relic of a finger of St Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary, as a congratulatory gift. The Queen wrote back stating that she was utterly delighted by this present and addressing the Grand Master with the highly sought-after kinship term of '*Mon Cousin*'.¹³⁴ Religion, therefore, served to further cement the strong links between the Order and France and in all of these ways the Order contributed to the European-wide movement of relics, which was an integral part of the Counter-Reformation.

Besides having recourse to their own chaplains, many Hospitallers were actively engaged with members of other religious orders. In the wake of the Counter-Reformation, a number of new religious orders established themselves in Malta, generally on the invitation and with the support of the Order and/or individual Hospitallers. In 1582, Pope Gregory XIII sent the Barnabites to Malta at the behest of the Order.¹³⁵ Then, in 1588, it was the turn of the Capuchins to found a monastery in Malta, patronized by Grand Master Verdalle, whose brother was a Capuchin.¹³⁶ Verdalle also oversaw the foundation of a Jesuit College in 1593. These new religious orders advocated a reorientation of religious life toward a more active ministry with less emphasis on prolonged prayer.¹³⁷ The new orders set up their houses in or very near to the harbour cities from where they were able to cater to the swelling numbers of this urban conurbation, thus contributing to the renewal of Roman Catholicism in Malta. The renewed vigour of many Hospitallers' faith as a result of their interaction with these new religious orders and the wider spiritual currents of the Counter-Reformation have been all too often ignored.¹³⁸ Yet, like many early modern Christians, they, too, were in search of a spirituality that made more sense to their lives. In particular, Grand Master Lascaris has been identified as a 'conduit of the French Catholic Reformation', supporting key Counter-Reformation figures like François de Sales (1572–1622), who was in fact the elder brother of a Hospitaller.¹³⁹ The de Sales family had strong links with the Order of Malta with many of its members having been Hospitallers; the spirituality of St François de Sales was particularly pervasive among French brethren.¹⁴⁰ Carmelite influence was also widespread among the Hospitallers. The Carmelites had originated

in the Holy Land (just like the Hospitallers), but in the sixteenth century they were reformed under the impetus of St John of the Cross (1542–1591) and St Teresa of Avila (1515–1582). The Italian Knight Frà Ambrogio Mariano (d.1594) came under the direct influence of Teresa and eventually turned from a knight into a hermit, his Carmelite biographer describing him as ‘the hermit knight’.¹⁴¹ In their Priory in Cospicua – which served as an international missionary college – the Discalced Carmelites received various Hospitallers who wished to spend some time in spiritual retreats.¹⁴² It also needs to be remembered that alongside these new religious orders, older institutions such as the Dominicans and the Friar Minors Conventual were also regularly sought and patronized by the Hospitallers.¹⁴³

Foremost among all religious orders in terms of its activities and influence on the Hospitallers was the Society of Jesus. There were a number of parallels between the Order and the Society, which would have militated in favour of a certain affinity between the two. Both had a strong masculine military overtone; though the Hospitallers engaged in actual fighting, whereas the Jesuits engaged only in spiritual combat, the Jesuits espoused a vision of themselves as a Christian militia. Like the Order, the Society adopted the ‘defence of the faith’ as one of its stated purposes, and during the Thirty Years War, the language of holy war was adopted by the Jesuit General Muzio Vitelleschi (1615–1645). The Society and the Order also shared a concern for the care of the sick and the poor, an interest in Jerusalem as a holy city, and an awareness of the importance of ‘dying well’, possibly as a martyr, in a true Christian fashion.¹⁴⁴ Various Hospitallers, from the Grand Master downwards, patronized the Jesuits and their activities and participated in Ignatian spirituality. Many bequeathed lands and money to the Jesuits and the cooperation of the Order and of a number of individual Hospitallers was crucial for the founding of the Jesuit *Collegium Melitense* in 1593.¹⁴⁵ Over the course of the seventeenth century, the Order and the Society cooperated closely on a number of ventures: towards the middle of the century, while the Hospitallers were in charge of the French Caribbean island of St Christopher, they encouraged the Jesuits to settle on the island to cater for the various Catholics living there.¹⁴⁶ In 1637, under Jesuit influence, Prince Friedrich von Hessen, Landgrave of Hessen–Darmstadt, converted from Lutheranism to Catholicism and was received as a member of the Order of Malta; similarly, in 1656, inside the Jesuit Church in Valletta, the Maltese Vice-Prior of St John’s, Frà Girolamo Mamo, baptized the 25-year-old Maometto Attesi, son of the King of Fes in Morocco. He was renamed Baldassare, joined the Society, and died as a missionary in Muslim lands on 15 October 1667.¹⁴⁷ Through this kind of cooperation,

the Order and the Society were able to secure prominent converts to Catholicism.

At about the same time as the establishment of the *Collegium Melitense*, a retreat house for Hospitallers, known as the *Camerata*, was established in Valletta and this soon came under the Jesuits' spiritual oversight. Gradually, it changed from being just a retreat house to a place of permanent residence for those Hospitallers who were inclined to a more pious and austere life than the rest of their brethren. Here they led a communal life of prayer and serving the sick in the Holy Infirmary. In many respects, they led a life very similar in style to that of the new more active religious orders of the sixteenth century such as the Theatines, Camillians and the Jesuits themselves.¹⁴⁸ Though the number of Hospitallers at the *Camerata* constituted a minority in terms of numbers, the impact of its Ignatian spirituality was pervasive. Many Hospitallers who lived in the *Camerata* went on to attain influential posts, both within the Order and elsewhere.¹⁴⁹ One of its members, Frà Jacques de Cordon d'Evieu I, played a prominent part in the evangelisation of parts of Savoy and Geneva, together with St François de Sales.¹⁵⁰ Another young Frenchman, Frà Claramon, who also lived at the *Camerata*, reprimanded a fellow Hospitaller for eating meat on a Friday.¹⁵¹ Those Hospitallers who were members of the *Camerata* were perceived to be of a good and charitable disposition, seeking to live a virtuous life within the remits of their own Hospitaller vocation.¹⁵² Moreover, many Hospitallers came under Jesuit spiritual oversight through the sacrament of confession. Inquisition records show that many Hospitallers resorted to Jesuits to act as their confessors, while the Inquisition itself often appointed Jesuits as confessors of Hospitallers to oversee punishments meted out to them.¹⁵³

For the Hospitallers, religious devotion in its various forms represented an eclectic interaction between past and present, the celestial and the terrestrial. Both the documentary and the non-written sources reflect these dualities, particularly in the ideal of the 'Soldier of Christ and Servant of His Poor and Sick', the seeking out of divine intercession and assistance, and the promotion of the saints as role models for the Hospitallers. Such discourse found its widest manifestation in the repeated calls between 1580 and 1700, by various Hospitallers, for the Order to reform its way of life. The best way to achieve this was through the careful observation of the three vows of obedience, poverty and chastity; within religious orders like that of St John reform meant a more precise observance of the original statutes. Previous Hospitallers had observed the faith, performed charity and fought the infidel as part of their path to salvation and perfection.¹⁵⁴ A communication from about 1590 by an anonymous Hospitaller aimed at

informing the Papacy of the abuses he considered were reigning within the Order stated that the four cardinal points that should guide the Order were observance of the Rule, the proper administration of the Treasury, observance of civil and criminal statutes, and adequate preparation for war.¹⁵⁵ For Grand Master Nicolas Cotoner, writing to the Pope in 1667, what had made the Order so great in the past had been the ‘bond of love’ between the brothers in Syria, Cyprus and Rhodes, as well as during the conflicts of their princes.¹⁵⁶ Those that clamoured for the need of repentance and reform argued that with the help of God, the Order would be able to return to its original statutes and its ancient splendour – in other words experience an internal *reformatio* – and so be able to face the challenges of the present and the future.

Reformation, Islam and Sorcery

During the sixteenth century, the Order had to confront some formidable challenges: the loss of Rhodes to the Ottomans in 1522, followed by a period of seven years of homelessness, set against the backdrop of a Europe experiencing the divisions generated by the Reformation, and the Great Siege of Malta of 1565. For the Order, the Reformation meant huge losses in terms of revenue and administrative chaos caused by the dissolution of Hospitaller commanderies throughout the Holy Roman Empire, Scandinavia, Switzerland and the British Isles.¹⁵⁷ It also meant a reduction in the number of Hospitallers as some became Protestants or suffered persecution as Catholics; however, the story of the Order and the Reformation was a multi-faceted one that varied according to time and place.¹⁵⁸ Across the Netherlands, the Holy Roman Empire and the Swiss Confederation, a pattern emerges whereby knightly commanderies avoided confiscation by Protestant authorities – temporarily and permanently – due to the intervention of a nobility that still considered the Order of Malta to be strategically useful. In a number of German commanderies, it was even possible to find Protestant and Catholic Hospitallers more or less co-existing.¹⁵⁹ In Switzerland, Hospitaller commanderies survived as the only Catholic presence in otherwise Protestant cantons by manipulating the federal structures of the Swiss Confederation and securing the backing of the Catholic cantons.¹⁶⁰ On the other hand, those commanderies which had been intended to support Hospitaller chaplains were rapidly confiscated and the Order put up little resistance to this: chaplains were generally not noble and they could not rely on the protection of the nobility.¹⁶¹ It was

a *quid pro quo*, a strategy of adaptation to rapidly changing circumstances where individual Hospitaller communities had to fend for themselves. After the loss of Rhodes, the central authorities of the Order were not in a position to do much about the situation north of the Alps. The survival of the Order therein was dependent on the ability of individual Hospitallers to understand and manage local circumstances.

Religious conflicts in Europe continued to impact very directly on the Order's administration and finances between 1580 and 1700, but religious ideals also influenced many Hospitallers on a personal level. Ideas emanating from humanist scholarship, Lutheranism and Calvinism (the Huguenots, in particular) deeply influenced Hospitaller faith. In Malta, these ideas were confronted by Counter-Reformation Catholicism (particularly in the form of the Inquisition and the Jesuits), as well as the Islam of the many slaves present in the island. The Catholic Church, as part of its strategy to halt and reverse the spread of Protestant ideas, had established the Holy Office, or Roman Inquisition.¹⁶² This was concerned with various aspects of life and faith: blasphemy, heresy, church attendance, sacraments, books read, bigamy, apostasy, illicit sex, witchcraft and membership of secret societies.¹⁶³ In Malta, the Inquisition kept a close eye on the Hospitallers, both when they were on the island and when they were on the galleys, so that its records serve as a barometer of Hospitaller religious beliefs and practices.

The Archive of the Inquisition of Malta is today part of the Archives of the Cathedral of Mdina, Malta. Of particular interest for this study is an index of cases dealing with Hospitallers who appeared before the Inquisition Tribunal between 1564 and 1696. It is comprised of 262 cases, of which 236 have been consulted for this study.¹⁶⁴ An estimated 327 Hospitallers were brought before the Inquisition during this period, while many others were mentioned as witnesses.¹⁶⁵ The majority of those accused were French, reflecting the numerical preponderance of French brethren in the Order, as well the vigour of the French Reformation and general French antipathy towards the Inquisition as an *ultra-montane* popish institution. The trial records of the Inquisition are ideal for pursuing an investigation about masculinity, but they also bring questions about faith and identity squarely into the picture.¹⁶⁶ The use of trial records proves to be a rich mine of information that is often highly enticing and gripping, but it is important to recognize that such sources are characterized by both possibilities and constraints. Testimony was never value-free, but when the subjectivity of the material is recognized as a source for contemporary mentalities, this can reveal a lot about the societies being studied.¹⁶⁷ Such records reveal the

sort of insults that were hurled, the sexual relationships undertaken (with women and men), and the attitudes to things such as gambling and war. They shed light on ideas about honour (personal, familial and institutional), nobility and Catholic confessional identities. At the same time, such sources can lead to a picture of an Order characterized by deviants; however, they also bring to the fore Hospitallers who were critical of the worldly life of their brethren and who took concrete actions to distance themselves from such irreligious behaviour.

The data in Table 3.1 – compiled from the cases analysed at the Archive of the Inquisition of Malta – reveal that those accused belonged to every Hospitaller rank, with the largest identified group being composed of Knights of Justice (34 per cent).¹⁶⁸ Table 3.2 summarises the types and numbers of crime accusations contained in the cases analysed. A cursory look at these accusations reveals the fuzzy line between orthodoxy and unorthodoxy, the definitions of which tended to be highly personal and, therefore, liable for prosecution by the Inquisition. Many Hospitallers indulged in pursuits and amusements ranging from hunting to gambling, frequenting women, confectioners and barbershops, and gossiping; they also read prohibited literature and sought adventure and glory at sea

Table 3.1 Ranks of the Hospitallers mentioned in the cases analysed at the Archive of the Inquisition of Malta, 1564–1696.

Rank	No.	
Vice-Prior of St John's	4	1%
Grand Hospitaller (in charge of the Holy Infirmary or an officer therein)	4	1%
Commissioner of the Arsenal	4	1%
Deacon (including the Master of the Deacons)	7	1%
Prior	8	1%
Novice	8	1%
Bailiff	14	2%
Captain of a village/town	15	3%
Servant-at-arms	15	3%
Captain of a vessel	18	3%
Commander	22	4%
Chaplain	81	14%
Knight of Justice (reported as <i>Cavalieri</i> , <i>equus</i> or <i>miles</i>)	190	34%
Others	179	31%
Total:	569	100%

Table 3.2 Accusations against Hospitallers in the cases analysed at the Archive of the Inquisition of Malta, 1564–1696.

Type of Accusation	No.	
Apostasy (speaking about a possible religious conversion)	3	1%
Sodomy	3	1%
Duelling/Fighting	4	1%
Sexual offences (with women and boys; concubinage; nuns; bigamy)	8	3%
Superstitions	10	4%
Prohibited books (owning/perusing)	25	9%
Blasphemy (generally accompanied by heavy drinking and gambling)	26	9%
Breaking of abstinence (food)	34	12%
Sorcery (especially love magic and magic against wounds)	44	16%
Speech or action against the Inquisition, Papacy, Bishop and the Church in general	52	19%
Heresy/Doubts about the Catholic Faith	52	19%
Others (Wrong attire, incorrect church ceremonial, irreligious behaviour, liberated renegades, slave issues)	17	6%
Total:	278	100%

fighting Islam. All these situations could provide the backdrop against which the Hospitallers might – both willingly and inadvertently – turn away from Catholic teachings.

The earliest evidence that Lutheran ideas had reached Malta emerges from the trial of 28 persons in 1546 by the Bishop of Malta, acting as Inquisitor. Some of those accused were members of the Order. Around this time, a French cleric of the Order, Don Francesco Gesualdo, established a Confraternity of Good Christians, whose members read the works of Luther and Melanchthon and discussed various topics related to their faith. The activities of this confraternity were centred on the school run by Don Gesualdo in Birgu. Members of this school also had contact with those of the other grammar school in Malta, situated in Mdina. Thus, sectors of the Order and of the Maltese elite shared ideas about religion and Church reform. By the 1580s, this local ‘Maltese Reformation’ had been nipped in the bud by the Roman Inquisition.¹⁶⁹

During this time, the Order was also participating in the Council of Trent. In 1545, at the opening of the Council, it was able to successfully defend its right to have its delegate sit among the representatives of secular princes, rather than with the representatives of the different religions (i.e. orders, bishops and so on); the Prince–Bishop of Salzburg, one of the more important magnates of the Holy Roman Empire, challenged this decision

but the Pope sided with the Order.¹⁷⁰ The ambassador of the Order was to emphasize how for 500 years it had fought to expand Christendom and practised hospitality in the name of Christ. He was also to highlight the losses suffered by the Order because of the Reformation and the expenses necessary to maintain their army and island to defend Christendom. Beyond this, the contribution of the Order to the Council's workings has been considered to have been limited.¹⁷¹ In contrast, the provisions of the Council had an impact on the workings of the Order, as is attested by the Chapter General of 1578, which explicitly stated that the appointment of various officials in the Order was now to be carried out according to the norms of the Council.¹⁷² In spiritual terms, the promotion on a European scale by the Order of the cult of St Paul, the patron saint of Malta, was part of the Counter-Reformation push to encourage pilgrimages and devotion. It also enhanced the Order's international prestige by associating it with the great confessor of the faith.¹⁷³ Individual Hospitallers honoured St Paul through personal gestures: in 1657 Grand Master Martin de Redin donated his sword to the Cathedral of Mdina to be hung next to the titular painting of St Paul; in 1692 the Prior Martin de Navarre also donated his sword.¹⁷⁴

Nevertheless, interest in reformed Christianity among the Hospitallers continued, which is not surprising given the pivotal role the nobility played in introducing, defending and resisting the Reformation throughout Europe.¹⁷⁵ At the same time, as tended to happen all across Italy, the label 'Lutheran' could also be indiscriminately applied to anyone who was perceived to be a non-conformist.¹⁷⁶ Thus, in the midst of the tensions created by the French Wars of Religion, the French knight Frà de Marul was accused of being a Lutheran, in view of his support for Henri Bourbon of Navarre against the Catholic League.¹⁷⁷ On the other hand, the German Knight Frà Hert declared that he liked the ideas of Luther, including having Mass in the vernacular.¹⁷⁸ Both on land and at sea, when Hospitallers were gathered in groups, discussion often turned to religion. While on board the Order's galleys in the environs of Barbary (the Maghreb area of North Africa), the French knight Frà Ciampanin debated with other Hospitallers and Maltese crewmembers on the nature of God, the saints and the Pope. On being accused of being a Lutheran, Frà Ciampanin only replied, 'We'll see who is right in the next world'.¹⁷⁹ Frà Ciampanin also dabbled in magical practices and was noticed to be heavily intoxicated when he stated these words, which hint that his religious convictions may not have been as strong or as straightforward as his bold declarations.¹⁸⁰ In April 1654, a group of notables and clergy in Gozo were gathered around the

knight and Governor of the island, Frà Georgio Beringho (probably Polish), who discussed with them Lutheran ideas and openly ate meat on prohibited days.¹⁸¹

The books that were owned or perused by Hospitallers provide some indication of their religious leanings. Unfortunately, the details of books investigated by the Inquisition were seldom noted down, though a small sample can be constructed: many of the books in Table 3.3 were of a religious nature and reflect the various strands of European intellectual currents. Among these, there were Bibles in French and German. This was

Table 3.3 Details of prohibited books owned or perused by Hospitallers (All references are from C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P.).

Reference	Hospitallers	Books
Vol. 3B Case 37 1563	Frà Nicolas de Phiumercu, French, Master Esquire	A book of psalms.
Vol. 4A Case 4 1577	Frà Francesco Condulli, Chaplain, Portuguese	Books by Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam.
Vol. 170 Case 105 1611	Frà de Cuius and Frà de Santestiene, French	Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim's (1486–1535) <i>De occulta philosophia libri tres</i> (c.1533).
Vol.171 Case 188 1647	Unspecified	A copy of the seventeenth-century grimoire text and one of the more popular books on demonology, the <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> .
Vol. 171 Case 189 1648	Frà Carlo Crisafi, Italian	A tract on duelling by a Neapolitan author, quite possibly Girolamo Muzio's (1496–1576) <i>Il Duello</i> (Venice, 1550).
Vol. 171 Case 193 1649	Frà Francesco Carboneu, French	Bible in French.
Vol. 171 Case 218 1660	Frà Jean de Moletz, French, Knight	A work by Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, most probably his <i>De occulta philosophia libri tres</i> (c.1533).
Vol. 171 Case 225 1664	Frà de Crusican, Provencal, Knight	A book of poetry by Clément Marot (1496– 1544), who was deemed to be a Lutheran or a Calvinist.
	Frà de Pichet, Auvergne, Servant-at-arms	The Koran in French. The psalms of David in the vernacular, possibly also by Clément Marot.
Vol. 171 Case 259(2) 1696	Frà Massimiliano Henrico Borseyd, German, Knight	Bible in German.

not necessarily an indication of Protestant tendencies, but neither was it in line with the Catholic Church's preference for Latin. The 1596 Index of Prohibited Books, together with the Holy Office in Rome during the late 1590s, laid particular emphasis on the need to control the spread of Bibles in the vernacular.¹⁸² The influence of humanist learning is suggested by the occurrence of a Koran in French, a Renaissance tract on duelling and books by Erasmus; in the first half of the sixteenth century, the Sicilian Commander Frà Pietro Baylin owned an extensive library, which included a substantial number of works by Erasmus.¹⁸³ A fascination with the occult, astrology and magic is evinced by the presence of the works of Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim and the *Clavicula Salomonis*.¹⁸⁴ On 4 May 1609, Inquisitor Evangelista Carbonese gave instructions for a number of books collected from various sources to be publicly burned in the main square of Vittoriosa: among these there were Bibles in English and French, works by Machiavelli and Rabelais, and various writings described as 'Mahommedan', that is, Arabic and/or Muslim texts.¹⁸⁵

Exposure to Islam, albeit of varied intensity, was a factor common throughout the Christian littoral of the Mediterranean; hence, besides the influence of Humanism and Protestantism, Hospitallers in Malta and at sea were also exposed to Islamic ideas when they came in contact with Muslim corsairs, merchants and slaves.¹⁸⁶ This created a certain level of religious volatility in that the faith of the archenemy at times appealed to some Hospitallers. For this reason, the label 'Turk' was applied as often as that of 'Lutheran' to those seen to be deviating from Catholicism.¹⁸⁷ In 1605, a group of knights and soldiers who were serving under Frà Agostino Megho in Modica, Italy, sent a letter to the Inquisitor in Malta to report their superior. According to them, Frà Megho had ordered soldiers, in front of the civilian population, to fire their guns at a cross, promising a reward to whoever managed to hit it. Many knights and others felt deeply disturbed by such an irreligious act and suspected him of 'wanting to become a Turk', that is, of seeking to convert to Islam.¹⁸⁸

The Commander Frà Gaspar d'Aldarete was also investigated for possible apostasy when, in a moment of anger, he said he would rather become a Turk than suffer an injustice at the hands of the Treasury.¹⁸⁹ This Christian-Muslim conflict also created uncertainty in situations where the religion of a newly captured slave was undetermined or contested. Thus, in 1607, Frà de Frascinet, the French captain of a galleon, was accused by fellow Hospitallers and by the chaplain of the galleon of having sold about 20 Russian and Hungarian women taken from a Turkish vessel at the slave market in Messina. The chaplain argued that the women had been

Christians, but Frà Frascinet said they were prostitutes, infidels and Turks.¹⁹⁰ Ignoring advice such as that of Frà Castiglione, who warned that money should be both earned and spent wisely by a true Christian man, Frascinet placed monetary gains above his religious duties.¹⁹¹ In the words of Frà Lorenzo of Portugal: 'If I had one hundred slaves I would rather burn them than make them Christians[!]'.¹⁹² Such strong anti-Christian statements were paralleled by equally strong blasphemous utterances. Blasphemy was condemned by Frà Castiglione as a grave offence against the majesty and divinity of God.¹⁹³ His concern with this problem is justified in that nearly a tenth of all crime accusations against Hospitallers were concerned with blasphemy. Such profane expressions were derived from the world and vocabulary of Christianity. For instance, Frà la Brughera got so annoyed when he could not find his gold cross that, on being teased by other Hospitallers, he cursed the Cross; Frà Joannes Francesco de Raymon, in a moment of despair, declared that 'if God will not take us to Malta, the devil will'.¹⁹⁴

The Papacy regularly came under fire from Hospitallers who were sceptical of its authority. The Provençal Chaplain Frà de Mezo declared that the Pope did not have the faculty to excommunicate the King of France and the German Commander Frà Drost argued that it was not written anywhere that Christ had passed the actual keys of heaven to St Peter, but that He had only given Peter a verbal authority that was restricted to him and not applicable to his successors as pontiffs.¹⁹⁵ Such anti-papal discourses and actions amounted to 19 per cent of all accusations against Hospitallers, so that, together with heresy, they constituted the greater proportion of Hospitaller misdeeds. One example that emerges from these accusations encapsulates the range of contradictions that could co-exist in a Hospitaller: Frà Gabriel DuBois de la Ferté was renown among his contemporaries for his piety and has gone down in history as 'a holy man in Malta'.¹⁹⁶ He shunned the company of young and frivolous knights, carried out many charitable acts, fasted regularly and was always obedient towards the Grand Master. He profoundly disliked seafaring because it made him ill, but he resigned himself to it as the particular form that his Hospitaller faith had to take. His spirituality was focused on Ignatian, Salesian and Carmelite tenets and, together with other Hospitallers, he sought to foster a more holy way of life in Malta.¹⁹⁷ Despite this, in 1689, witnesses gave evidence to the Inquisitor that Frà la Ferté had uttered a number of anti-papal heretical statements. According to one witness, la Ferté had declared that 'the pope was just a man like any other and that he defended heretics'.¹⁹⁸ The second witness, the Hospitaller Chaplain

Rev Ignatio Debono also reported hearing la Ferté denying papal authority and stating that the council was above the Pope. These incidents had occurred in la Ferté's least congenial environment – aboard a galley at sea – and Rev Debono did describe him as 'being stupid, and generally drunk'.¹⁹⁹ Sick and depleted of his strength, 'the holy man' may have given into despair; on the other hand, as a noble Frenchman he would have shared in the general French antipathy towards the *ultra-montane* papacy, while his interest in conciliarism reflected the active and participative form of Christianity he was interested in.

The Hospitallers, particularly the French, despised the Inquisition as an institution, the Inquisitors as Church officials, and their personnel. The resistance to the Inquisition can be seen in terms of a wider conflict between a religion of conscience and a religion of authority, with these two religious strands often overlapping and interlocking within the Catholic Church.²⁰⁰ At the same time, such conflicts were also driven by issues of rank and nationality, as well as by practical everyday concerns. Hence, the Aragonese Captain of Senglea, Frà Pietro Vetcian, insisted that the familiars of the Inquisitor could not be exempt from the rota of those scheduled to be on guard on the city walls. When the Inquisitor sent two of his officials to question Frà Vetcian on this matter, their meeting commenced in a gentlemanly manner with both sides removing their hats as a sign of respect, but it soon degenerated into plain rudeness. Frà Vetcian insisted that his duty was to defend the walls of the city for the faith, and that his only superiors were the Grand Master and the Prior. Dragging his feet on the ground, he shouted out, 'I hold the Inquisition at the top of my head but I hold the Inquisitor under my feet'.²⁰¹ Two years later, the French knight Frà de Beurigard refused to hand over to the Inquisitor a renegade who was on board his galley because this renegade was his best oarsman.²⁰² Thus, the activities of the Holy Office were seen as hampering the daily workings of the Order.²⁰³

Conversely, a number of Hospitallers actually felt the need to denounce themselves to the Inquisitor, thereby confusing further the boundary between a religion of conscience and a religion of authority. Frà Georgio Fortunato, having frequented the company of some hard-core blasphemers for a number of years, after examining his soul felt that he needed to unload his conscious to the Inquisitor.²⁰⁴ Frà Gabriel de Bonremont denounced himself to the Inquisitor to save his soul: he was guilty of infringing the rules of abstinence and of consulting a fortune teller.²⁰⁵ Frà Olimpio Antenori, recognising he had committed a wrong deed when he blasphemed after losing money at gambling, went to the Inquisitor to ask for God's forgiveness.²⁰⁶

Such self-denunciations, described in the records as a *spontanea comparizione* (spontaneous appearance), may represent pre-emptive actions on the part of the wrongdoers to avoid being denounced by someone else, which in a small place like Malta was very likely. Many were encouraged by their confessors to appear before the Inquisition and such instances tended to produce summary procedures rather than full trials, and generally carried lighter sentences.²⁰⁷ At the same time, the presence of sincere feelings of repentance and a desire to be reconciled with God should not be dismissed.

Whether a Hospitaller adhered to Catholic dogma or he denounced it, he did so within a religiously charged context, where religion was the focal point of life. For this reason, religion and theology constituted recurrent themes of discussion and debate among the Hospitallers, which were informed by a mixture of common sense pragmatism and elaborate theoretical discourses. Hence, the Aragonese Captain Frà Onofrio Capones stated that a Turk could be saved in his sect, just as much as a Christian could be saved in his law, as long as he led a good life.²⁰⁸ The French knight Frà de Magliana expressed a similar opinion when he argued that all religions could lead to God if their followers led a good life and that it was up to God to decide which was best.²⁰⁹ Personal life experiences could also influence one's religious ideas: the servant-at-arms Frà Gonò, who spent some time as a slave and was, therefore, exposed to Islam, came to believe that God was more pleased when a woman was known carnally than when she remained a virgin.²¹⁰ Many held seemingly contradictory views: the Rector of the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Mellieha reported that a group of French Hospitallers had arrived at his church, quite possibly on pilgrimage, but that one of them talked about a condemned book – the *Clavicula Salomonis* – a popular seventeenth-century work on demonology.²¹¹

There was also significant scepticism about certain aspects of the Catholic faith, such as the existence of purgatory, the validity of indulgences, and of the cults of Mary and the saints.²¹² For instance, in 1641, while having lunch with a man from Goa (India) and a number of knights, the Hospitaller Chaplain Frà Minier declared that St Xavier had been canonized on the basis of false documentation.²¹³ Frà Minier's attitude contrasted sharply with the devotion to Xavier outlined above and is indicative of a selective approach to religion. During his tenure as Captain of the parish of Bir Miftuh, the French Frà Jacobo Brusin often caused consternation among his villagers because he infringed the rules of abstinence and because of his scepticism about the purported miracle performed by an image of the Virgin Mary held in a rural chapel. Frà Brusin argued that images were

devoid of any religious significance and that he was sceptical about the miraculous image because an old hag was also claiming that the Virgin Mary had appeared in her house.²¹⁴ The servant of the knight Frà Pietro Peruzzi was also deeply disturbed by his master's religious assertions: the knight said he did not believe in miracles because he had never seen one, that simple fornication was not a sin and that there was no fire in hell.²¹⁵ In 1647, the Capuchin Serafino de Scicli reported the French Knight Frà Scigliu because he asserted that he believed in freedom of conscience, where a person could choose to believe, and not be forced to do so by the Holy Office.²¹⁶

There was a certain distinction between the elite religious views of the Hospitallers and the religion of the mass of uneducated people with whom the Hospitallers came into contact. There were Hospitallers, such as the ones cited above, who held elaborate religious opinions, which were likely a result of better education, more access to books and wider travel opportunities. In many instances, however, the gap between 'elite' and 'popular' religion was not so very wide, as is attested to in particular by the Hospitallers' frequent resort to sorcery.²¹⁷ Hospitaller beliefs were drawn from a common early modern cultural stock that was reworked so as to be meaningful for a particular individual. Official Catholic teaching suggested that magic and superstition derived their potency from a tacit or expressed pact with the Devil, although the Roman and Spanish Inquisitions also firmly believed that the root cause of such practices was more often than not ignorance, and inquisitors tended to be sceptical when faced with witchcraft accusations.²¹⁸ In early modern Malta, 'popular magic' was generally practised by women and Muslim slaves, whereas 'learned magic' was practised by clerics, Hospitallers and members of the professional classes.²¹⁹ Nevertheless, popular and learned superstitious practices overlapped significantly. The large number of Muslim slaves in Malta had a particularly significant effect on religious, magical and superstitious beliefs. Muslim men and women recur regularly in Inquisitorial documents as people the Hospitallers would turn to for various incantations.²²⁰ Magic spells were very often derived from standard prayers and liturgical observances, thereby retaining an orthodox framework into which external elements were introduced.²²¹ There were four broad categories of sorcery that Hospitallers resorted to, either as producers or consumers of such witchcraft: magic to find lost items or persons, gambling magic, healing/protection magic, and love magic.²²² Some time around 1595, the pages of the Grand Master were reputed to know a method to find lost items that involved the use of a book, a key and the invocation of Sts Peter and Paul.²²³ In 1633, the Hospitaller

priest Frà Valerio Lupo resorted to the services of an old woman who had a pact with the Devil in order to locate a runaway slave.²²⁴

Curative and defensive magic were the two forms of sorcery that referred most explicitly to conventional Christianity. In Italy, the ranks of popular healers tended to be predominantly constituted by poor elderly women.²²⁵ By contrast, in Portugal and in the Saar region, magical healing was a predominantly male activity.²²⁶ In Malta, the situation was more varied; while many women acted as healers, the Inquisition records reveal that a substantial number of Hospitallers also practised healing magic.²²⁷ As in the rest of Europe, Malta was a medically pluralistic society; this pluralism extended to the profile of healers available, the type of accessories used in such processes, and the agency of the sick to interpret their malady and to chose the form of treatment.²²⁸ The remedies offered by individual Hospitallers were a complementary part of the ideal of service to the poor and sick of Jesus Christ that was so much at the heart of the Order's mission. These were expressions at an individual level of a desire to help the less fortunate in ways that would have been familiar to most people, but which were not always acceptable to the Inquisition. Unlike other healers, the Hospitallers investigated by the Inquisition seem not to have levied a charge for their services, so that their cures were also acts of charity. This contrasts with the situation in Venice, where payment for cures was common practice.²²⁹ Hence, it is possible to see a significant difference in the disposition and mentality of a profoundly commercial city from that of a charitable Order of the Church. The link between religion and medicine is a universal one; the two have cooperated, conflicted, fused and divided time and again throughout history.²³⁰ This bond was at the very heart of the Order of St John's foundation and mission, a fact reflected in the hospitals it operated not only in its headquarters but also across Europe.²³¹ What emerges from the case-studies discussed below is how the healing practices of individual Hospitallers constituted an act of faith gauged in unorthodox terms. Most of these cures involved prayers to God to assist the weak and the afflicted and manifest how a nursing role was close to the heart of many Hospitallers in a way that has not previously been considered.

Hospitaller healers – whose methods were often based on 'a bookish form of witchcraft' – inspired a mixture of awe and suspicion in those that beheld their cures and methods.²³² Thus, two Hospitallers were investigated in relation to their intervention to assist persons suffering from epileptic fits. The method used by both Frà Giovanni Minutili and Frà Giovanni Antonio involved whispering into the afflicted person's ear Christian words and phrases, particularly those used during Mass.²³³ The Hospitallers also looked

out for each other, proffering their cures to their brothers when ill or wounded. It was widely believed that Frà de Clares had helped cure the Commander Cortes, who had been languishing at the Holy Infirmary with a high fever, using 'certain holy and good words[,] using a rod of willow and he had a Mass celebrated for a saint held dear by the Infirm'; gestures were seen to have important meanings when used as part of the healing process.²³⁴ The Neapolitan Frà Andrea Oreglia was familiar with a method of curing fevers, but Father Alophio d'Arena of Mdina Cathedral told him such practices were superstitious and possibly even demonic.²³⁵ A further complicating factor that informed Hospitaller sorcery was the variety of languages spoken in Malta, which led to misunderstandings: the Maltese Gonsalvo Habel reported how the Italian Stefano Scarpello had told him of a French knight who could heal tumours in the womb simply by uttering certain words.²³⁶

In parallel to healing magic offered to the poor and sick, many Hospitallers were familiar with cures that rapidly healed wounds, curtailed suffering and afforded protection in battle; such treatments were extremely useful, given the Hospitallers' commitment to being Soldiers of Christ and martyrs of the faith. The Castilian Frà Antonio Moretto Giron, who was Captain of the village of Birkirkara in Malta, and who had a reputation for his skills in healing various ailments, was summoned before the Inquisition to explain himself. He described how he had learnt how to dress wounds from a soldier he had met at sea by placing bandages dipped in water, wine, oil or egg-yolk on the wounds and then uttering a whole series of Christian words and prayers.²³⁷ Other Hospitallers knew ways and methods to mitigate pain during torture, to stop the loss of blood and to heal various wounds.²³⁸ There were also items of jewellery and gems that could be worn for their medico-magical properties: a traveller to Malta in 1588 noted how Grand Master Verdalle used to wear a 'snake's eye ring', which was a ring mounted with a type of Maltese rock reputed to protect its wearers from various ailments of the stomach, particularly poisoning.²³⁹

Conversely, some Hospitallers resorted to means to protect themselves while fighting. On 3 October 1623, the Spanish Frà Morroi was arrested in relation to the murder of the Knight Frà Carniero. When the guards searched him, they found a pocket in his breeches in which were pieces of paper and bits of the Eucharist. Some of the phrases on his papers read: 'Christ was crucified', 'Christ has died', and 'Christ was buried'.²⁴⁰ The captain who had performed the arrest believed that such artefacts were superstitious; for Frà Morroi, it was an act of faith in the power of the Eucharist and the name of Christ to protect him from harm. An unnamed

German knight, who was the nephew of the Prior of Bohemia, also had various writings, which he argued had protected him from physical harm in various conflicts when all those around him had fallen. These writings included extracts from the Bible and verses from the Psalms.²⁴¹ A Provençal servant-at-arms, Musu de Barducci recounted how when faced by a throng of diabolical armed Moors on horses who were advancing upon him, he uttered the name of Christ and immediately these mounted Moors disappeared.²⁴² Just as the cross provided comfort to those Hospitallers who were incarcerated and in distress, so it was also seen to afford protection in battle. The chaplain Frà Gabriele Rocchetti Perugino always carried with him a piece of writing consisting of two folios of text and prayers and a sketch of a cross with words written inside it (See Figure 3.6). Along the length of the cross is the phrase, ‘Through this sign free us, Our God’,



FIGURE 3.6 Frà Gabriele Rocchetti Perugino's protective cross, 24 May 1662, 17.5×10.5 cm. C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol.171, Case 221, n.p. Acknowledgement: Mdina Cathedral Museum and Archives, Malta.

reminiscent of the story of the Emperor Constantine who in 312 A.D. at the Battle of the Mulvian Bridge saw a cross in the sky with the inscription '*In hoc signo vincit*' ('In this sign you shall conquer').²⁴³ According to Frà Rocchetti Perugino, by saying five *Ave Maria* and five *Pater Noster* in honour of the five wounds of Christ, this passage would protect its carrier from being harmed by weapons. Three other Hospitallers wished to procure copies of this text for their own protection; however, upon being informed of the superstitious nature of this text, the three knights tore up two of the texts and had the other one presented to the Inquisitor.²⁴⁴ Such an artefact reveals the strong belief and trust that Hospitallers held in the symbol of the cross and its ability to protect and conquer. The world was seen to be governed and influenced by divine intervention, so that a prayer was an effective means of influencing outcomes and combating fear.²⁴⁵ Just as Hospitallers presented ex-votos as thanksgiving for divine intercession after a particular difficulty was overcome, so they resorted to God and the saints to protect them prior to engaging in actual fighting. That such initiatives turned out not to be approved by the Church does not diminish the value of the religiosity of Hospitaller faith. Rather, it shows its variety and unpredictability and how defensive magic was an aspect of medical pluralism focused on prevention rather than cure.

Conclusion

Hospitaller faith was forged in a religiously charged atmosphere that was believed to be influenced by divine intention; this could, through a variety of means, be channelled into a desired outcome. Each Hospitaller participated in religious life on his own terms and in the way he considered most suitable; orthodox and heterodox beliefs and practices co-existed uneasily but indissolubly. The lines between religion, superstition and sorcery became very thin whenever a Hospitaller sought access to the sacred in a culture saturated by faith and the miraculous.²⁴⁶ In many ways, the Hospitallers were participants in a wider body of beliefs and practices that eluded the elite-popular divide; on the other hand, certain religious rites, cults and ideas cemented a distinct Hospitaller identity as religious knights.²⁴⁷ Many Hospitallers diligently followed the precepts of the Catholic Church and the statutes of their Order; others slipped into errors that were investigated by the Inquisition. Many moved back and forth across the slippery divide between the prescribed and proscribed. The Hospitallers performed many acts of faith, only these were not always presented in an

orthodox manner. In this vein, material culture, whether it was paintings, sculptures and other forms of church embellishments, or books, papers, and images confiscated by the Inquisition, provides a crucial and vivid insight into the multifariousness of the Catholicism of the Hospitallers.

Above all, Hospitaller faith was characterized by recurrent dualities, which, rather than being binaries in perpetual opposition, were distinct religious traits that overlapped continually. Thus, the Order as a religious institution was both contemplative and active, espousing a military and a curative mission. On a personal level, the Hospitallers looked towards old and new saints, the Virgin Mary and St John the Baptist as models, guides and protectors. On an even deeper spiritual and personal plain, fighting for the faith and caring for the sick led many Hospitallers to create alternative models through which they could define themselves as men, as knights, as Hospitallers. Grand Master Nicolas Cotoner highlighted the tension inherent in the ideal of being a religious knight. According to him, his Council was composed of men who were most suited at being soldiers, and who were, therefore, liable to make mistakes. Even so, they still acknowledged the religious nature of their calling. As for himself, since he was a man, he was prone to err, but not even the Devil could induce him to repeat a mistake.²⁴⁸ Furthermore, the service provided to the unfortunate by the Hospitallers at the Holy Infirmary and elsewhere shows that caring for the sick and poor of Christ was a deep-seated value in many Hospitallers' hearts. Mentalities, values and sentiments resulted from an exchange between simplicity and sophistication, fostered in an island setting, where various trends met, merged and clashed – humanist scholarship, the Reformation, Counter-Reformation, Islam and magic – all of which contributed to the multiple manifestations of Hospitaller piety and religious culture.

Chapter 4

The Body, Chastity and Sexuality

*Life was far from austere and Malta . . . might have been nicknamed Gomorrha Parva.*¹

With these words, the young Comte de Caylus (1692–1765) summed up the way of life of the Hospitallers in Malta in 1715. The comparison with the biblical city of Gomorrah, destroyed by God for its transgressions (Gen. 18:16–19:29), encapsulated a persistent and common perception of the Hospitallers as insatiable sexual predators.² Patrick Brydone's (1741–1819) account of weeping mistresses perched on the bastions of Valletta saluting their knights as they set off for battle has become one of the most widespread impressions of the Hospitallers.³ Such a vision, which developed during the preceding years and continues to this day, is laden with tensions. On the one hand, the religious calling of the Hospitallers was greatly admired, but on the other, their celibate status was sometimes lamented as being unchivalrous. In particular, there has been a persistent quest to identify the children which la Valette, the great hero of the Siege of 1565, may have fathered.⁴ It is as if all his famed achievements were not whole in the absence of an heir. Conversely, in seventeenth-century drama, two models of the Hospitaller were presented and pitted one against the other. In John Fletcher's *The Knight of Malta* (c. 1619), the honourable Italian Miranda (who despite the feminine-sounding name is a man) holds steadfast to his vows, whereas the French villain Montferrat abandons them to have sex with an African slave-woman; in Philip Massinger's *The Maid of Honour* (c. 1632), the valiant Gonzaga stands for religious dignity, whereas the impetuous Bertoldo is unfaithful to his vows.⁵ In Malta itself, there seems to be a long-held desire, never far from the surface, to ascertain that the blood of the Hospitallers was mixed with that of the Maltese through sexual intercourse in centuries past.⁶

Prostitution in early modern Malta was widespread and the archival evidence for the sexual exploits of the Hospitallers is not scant.⁷ Thus, the documentary evidence, together with the array of ideas and stereotypes outlined above, have led to the entrenchment of the religious–irreligious and chaste–unchaste dichotomies that have so strongly influenced the way the Hospitallers are perceived. This chapter, therefore, seeks to move away from the myths to reach a more nuanced understanding of the daily contact and companionship of the Hospitallers with women and men; the aim is to understand better the ‘sexual culture of the celibate world’ of the Hospitallers.⁸ By focusing on the chastity–sexuality nexus, this chapter will consider the Hospitaller’s body as the contested site where the vow of chastity and the pull of sexuality interacted. Nevertheless, it was not a contest restricted only to the body, but one that was also played out in the wider social and material environments.

The Body

The body was understood as a living organism embedded within the social community. It generated a substantial amount of interest among diverse commentators, ranging from theologians, to lawyers, to doctors.⁹ These considerations of the body are at the heart of the debate provoked by Thomas Laqueur’s ‘one–sex model’.¹⁰ Laqueur’s premise that the female genitalia were perceived as an inversion of the male genitalia has been shown to be overly reductionist in accounting for sexual difference simply in terms of anatomy and social perceptions thereof. Such a perspective over-simplifies the environment inhabited by people whose bodies were influenced by their social, cultural and medical context.¹¹ Where Laqueur saw a conflict between biology and society, others have emphasized their complementarity, how sex and gender were mutually constitutive rather than separate domains.¹² The Galenic homological model – upon which Laqueur bases his theory – was severely shaken by Renaissance anatomy, and the theories of humours and temperaments offered much better answers to early modern thinkers dealing with the body, sexuality and society.¹³ Possessing a penis was not enough to establish a fully functioning masculinity: its effective operation had to be proven in order for a male to be considered a man in a court of law. In some instances, as in the case of the celibate clergy, their masculinity was premised on a sex-free model of manhood. Thus, understanding the body as a culturally constructed and contested site requires seeking out fine distinctions and gradations.

Comprehending bodies in history requires a combination of modern intellectual concerns with past contexts and concepts.¹⁴ In this way, historians of pre-modern Europe have been able to highlight a number of important features, such as, how mind, body and soul were not separate as in a post-Enlightenment understanding; how for Christianity, soul and body were well integrated rather than in opposition; and how the Church-science divide over dissection is a misconception.¹⁵ There is increasing awareness of how social practices – diet, sexual mores, environment and so on – affect the development of bodies and how bodies are the vehicles through which men and women experience the world around them and express themselves.¹⁶

Studies about men in medieval Europe often highlight the tensions exhibited between secular and ecclesiastical views of the male body and masculine behaviour.¹⁷ In the case of the medieval clergy, there is a need to move beyond a hegemonic masculinity that was about women, dependants and the family, and understand that there were equally prized alternatives.¹⁸ Another way of approaching the body draws on psychoanalysis in order to illuminate the relationship between the body, culture and subjectivity.¹⁹ In medieval and early modern Europe, there was a particular way of imagining the male body as a volcano of humours, drives and fluids that had to be kept in balance, constantly threatened to erupt, and which the authorities sought to regulate. Hence, through the much-cherished manly quality of self-control, men's energies could be appropriately channelled.²⁰ The law, political authority, religion and sexual morality were interwoven components of early modern societies and all helped to shape masculinity.²¹ Furthermore, under the impact of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, a significant rethinking of gender roles occurred, and in particular the value of celibacy became a distinctive marker between Catholics and Protestants.²² These reformulations of the body and the resulting historical debates – particularly when dealing with chastity – had particular resonance for the Hospitallers.

The rules and statutes of the Order emphasized that candidates had to be physically and mentally healthy and adept with weapons.²³ This ideal of the healthy and virile warrior was reflected in many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century portraits of Hospitallers.²⁴ Furthermore, statements from court records provide physical descriptions of the Hospitallers, both as they saw each other and as others saw them. Thus, Frà Aloysio Fianco described a Portuguese brother as being of a 'good stature'; when the Greek Consul wanted to report a French chaplain to the Inquisitor, he described him as a 'lame priest', the physical disability also serving as a metaphor for him being

a bad clergyman.²⁵ Most of the Hospitallers for which there is a physical description were French, a fact that reflects the predominance of French Hospitallers present in Malta and being arraigned before the Inquisition. Thus, a certain picture of what a French Hospitaller looked like emerges, generally being of a 'good stature, pale complexion and blond moustache'.²⁶ This type of description is found repeated a number of times, which might indicate a certain pre-cast way of imagining a Hospitaller. On the other hand, as in the case of the chaplain mentioned above, unflattering descriptions are also to be found.²⁷

What becomes evident from these and other depositions is the importance that was attributed to facial hair in identifying Hospitallers: the size or absence of a beard was a feature that was regularly commented upon.²⁸ Beards served to emphasize differences between adult males and boys. St Paul disapproved of men who wore their hair long (1 Cor. 11:14–15) and in his rule for the Templars, St Bernard of Clairvaux instructed them to cut their hair short and to grow beards, in contrast to secular knights who grew their hair long and shaved.²⁹ St Bernard's advice was not lost on the Hospitallers, either: in many medieval representations, they are seen with substantial beards.³⁰ Growing beards would have set the Hospitallers apart from the medieval Latin clergy, for whom shaving facial and head hair was most important; at the same time, given that up to 1523 their headquarters lay in the Eastern Mediterranean, this may have created a certain congruence between them and the Eastern Orthodox clergy, Jews and Muslims, by whom they were surrounded and all of whom grew beards. The Order moved to Malta (thereby being closer to Latin Europe) at a time when the Roman Catholic Church was re-considering its attitudes towards beards. In fact, all the Popes from Clement VII in 1572 to Clement XI in 1700 were bearded.³¹ A similar pattern can be observed in portraits of the Grand Masters of Malta: between c. 1580 and 1690 practically all had a beard or a moustache.³² Beards were seen to confer a sense of authority, manly sobriety and forceful military presence. Being bearded may have also helped the Grand Masters to fashion themselves after the five great heroes of the Order – the Blessed Gerard, Raymond du Puy, Pierre d'Aubusson, Philippe Villiers de l'Isle-Adam and Jean Parisot de la Valette – all of whom were depicted with beards. Their legacy, real or fabricated, was to constitute a fundamental element in the veneration of the past that became prevalent within the Order after about 1580.³³

Facial hair was also important for individual Hospitallers when they were fighting their Muslim foes. Alonso de Contreras, a Spanish adventurer and Hospitaller servant-at-arms, described in his diary how in the early part of

the seventeenth century he had managed to capture a gargantuan Turk (Muslim) who made fun of him because, despite being 'equipped with a sword and shield, I had a face as smooth as a girl's'.³⁴ This incident sheds a revealing light on how important the body was in mediating as a language between two different and hostile cultures. In this situation, Contreras' weapons turned out to be almost irrelevant for his identity as a man. For both Muslims and Christians in the Mediterranean, the beard signified distinctive understandings of masculinity. In another instance of a cross-cultural encounter, Frà Francesco Mazzinghi described to Cardinal Francesco Barberini how during a naval encounter in 1644 between the galleys of the Order and those of the Ottomans, they had managed to enslave a lady and her son who were suspected to be prominent members of the Ottoman court; this incident is said to have been the trigger of the War of Candia (Crete) 1645–1669. The exact identity of the two remained a contested issue, but the Order believed the boy was an Ottoman prince. Frà Mazzinghi stated: 'One can see that the Boy has a regal appearance'.³⁵ The alleged rank of the boy as a prince was thought to confer upon his body majestic attributes, something that the Hospitallers, given their aristocratic background, could readily relate to. Thus, there was an interlocking of nobility and physiognomy that seemed to traverse the Christian–Muslim divide.

The contextual and temporal meaning of the male body is discernible in a process, beginning with Grand Master Martin de Redin (1657–1660), where the Grand Masters started growing their hair longer and their beards shorter. Then, from the time of Adrien de Wignacourt (1690–1697) onwards, the Grand Masters were clean-shaven and wore wigs.³⁶ These fashions were diametrically opposed to St Bernard's depiction of a religious knight but they reflected changes in European fashions. The use of wigs and shaving started in the mid- to late seventeenth century, and attest to the shifting nature of Hospitaller masculinity.³⁷ The body can be described as being prosthetic, in the sense of a flexible unit to which various markers could be added or taken away. To this end, an examination of clothes sheds further light on the malleable nature of Hospitaller masculinity.

Clothes and fabrics were key markers of social distinctions; various gradations in colour or cut, for instance, could be laden with meaning, which meant that particularly in the case of elite fashion (but not only), there was a variety of styles that could be worn. Clothes have been considered as one of the more visible indicators that the early modern nobility did not decline. Instead, its dynamism was reflected in its key role in promoting the manufacture, commercialisation and imitation of fashion.³⁸ Moreover,

the intimate connection between clothes and body creates the dynamic through which the self is mediated and viewed.³⁹ In the Middle Ages, men who enjoyed wearing expensive clothes were considered to value pleasure and appearance over truth and reason.⁴⁰ Since clothes constituted such a vital part of the social, political, religious and economic discourses of early modern societies, attempts were made to control their consumption through sumptuary laws, which also stipulated fines to be paid by transgressors (the funds raised in this way were often used to support charitable enterprises). Therefore, male identity was built over a drawn-out process involving an interaction between clothes, body and socio-legal perceptions.⁴¹

The ordinances and statutes of the Order were concerned with regulating what Hospitallers wore. Among other provisions, there were strict regulations about when and how the habit of the Order was to be given to a man.⁴² Hence, the investiture ceremony was an elaborate and solemn occasion characterized by a sophisticated ritual. Since clothing played such a defining function in identifying social rank, wearing attire that did not reflect a Hospitaller's true rank was a punishable offence.⁴³ From time to time, injunctions were issued against expensive elaborate clothing: already when the Order was still located in the Holy Land, their Rule had stated that 'they should not wear brightly coloured cloth, fur or fustian'.⁴⁴ In 1562, Grand Master la Valette issued an edict prohibiting Hospitallers from wearing multicoloured threads, particularly if in contrast with the colour of the garment itself. Elaborate clothes and materials were considered to be in violation of 'the honesty' expected of the Hospitallers and those who disobeyed could suffer imprisonment and the loss of seniority.⁴⁵ Frà Sabba Castiglione considered the subject of adequate attire as fundamental for the Hospitallers and emphasized the importance of simplicity and sobriety:

Since morning is the most useful and precious part of the day, you will rise early, and in dressing up, putting on your shoes, adorning and bedecking yourself, you will be quick, brief and make haste; and because man is a political animal, I want you to ensure your body is limpid and neat, especially your mouth, hands, and feet, but then I don't want you to be delicate and weak. You will avoid as if they were plagues civets, ambergris, musk, powder, perfumes, waters, and similar smells, which are more adequate for vain and graceful women, and for lascivious and effeminate men, than for a religious knight such as yourself. And always remember the ancient proverb, that he who is always perfumed does not always do what is good.⁴⁶

[. . .]

When dressing up and putting on shoes you will disdain every superfluity, and all vain pomp. You will always be grave, modest, and pure. You will avoid silk stuffs, or hems, lacerations, stripes, slashes, cuttings, adornments, embroideries, and similar vanities, and the nonsense of this corrupt and dumb world, because such things are not pertinent to your state and condition.⁴⁷

Frà Castiglione's injunctions – which may well have influenced la Valette when he formulated his sumptuary edict, and which mirrored the link between body, clothes and cleanliness found in manuals of *civilités* across Europe – reflect a concern that men spending too much time cleaning, adorning and perfuming their bodies will inevitably lead to their degeneration into effeminacy.⁴⁸ Frà Castiglione's concern with effeminacy in men was shared by many early modern observers: the Venetian diarist Girolamo Priuli was distressed by the preoccupation with fashion of young men in the city, while some French nobles considered King Henri III's clothes as 'monstrous', since it was difficult to know whether one was looking at 'a woman king or a male queen'.⁴⁹ In early modern times, effeminate meant being dominated by, as well as being similar to women in not being able to exercise restraint.⁵⁰ Lavish costumes could indicate a man of substance, but they could also be criticized as overindulgent and, therefore, effeminate. Silk – as noted by Frà Castiglione – was to be avoided by men because of its association with extravagance; wool, on the other hand, was linked to moderation and containment and, therefore, ideal for men.⁵¹ Consequently, perfumes and fine clothes were to be disdained. At the same time, a Hospitaller had to ensure that he looked limpid and neat; Frà Castiglione's choice of 'limpid', a word normally used to describe clear water, was used to emphasize how a Hospitaller's clothes should serve to illustrate his noble, religious and manly calling rather than obfuscate it. Frà Castiglione's emphasis on the mouth, hands and feet reflects a wider interest among Europeans with the cleanliness of those particular body parts.⁵²

The honesty of the male and knightly state of the Hospitallers could be corrupted by too much concern for appearance and had to be preserved through discipline and moderation. Frà Castiglione encouraged the Hospitallers to wear the habit of the Order with pride and dignity for it had adorned the chests of kings and princes, and through it and through virtue and good works, every Hospitaller could be worthy of being a king.⁵³ More than 150 years later, the future Grand Master Frà Marc'Antonio Zondadari would

restate many of the points raised by Castiglione. Zondadari encouraged the Hospitallers to wear the habit – which was black in the case of ecclesiastical and civic functions, and red in the case of war – with a white cross, which indicated their innocence and purity. Furthermore, wearing the cross demonstrated a Hospitaller's obedience to Christ's command that all men should steadfastly carry their own cross in this life.⁵⁴ The Hospitallers' habit constituted a type of military uniform, but images of the Hospitallers and inventories of their belongings reveal a great variety in what they wore.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, in official iconography – as opposed to privately funded portraits – the habit was prominently displayed. This was a way for the Order to project the value of unity among its ranks, and separateness from everyone else. The habit stood for notions of permanence, stability and respectability, in contrast to the changing and frivolous nature of fashion.⁵⁶ Such values were also enshrined in costume books and prints, which became popular in Europe from the sixteenth century. Though there is no costume book about the Hospitallers as such, images of them in their official garb were included in more generic works such as the German artist Wolfgang Kilian's (1581–1662) prints of the 1640s and Filippo Bonanni's *Catalogo degli Ordini Equestri e Militari*, (1711).⁵⁷ In these images, dress was utilized as a sign system that represented the characteristics of the wearer – in the Hospitallers' case it was their brand as religious knights – but because the language of dress has its limits, explanatory captions were necessary to aid comprehension and avoid confusion.⁵⁸

Medieval secular knights were expected to possess a good physique and to dress well.⁵⁹ The same applied to the Hospitallers. Despite the demands of the prescriptive literature and the injunctions against fashionable attire, measures to control excessive luxury in clothes proved to be both unpopular and transitory. Many Hospitallers spent considerable fortunes and accumulated debts with tailors. In 1621, Frà Gabriele Spelletta visited the tailor Nardo Abela in his workshop in Valletta to order two new habits, but lost his temper when Abela did not provide him with a good service.⁶⁰ Following the demise of Frà Francesco Lanfreducci Jr, the nun Francesca Floccari of the Convent of St Mary Magdalene, claimed that she was owed money by the knight for sewing and mending done for him.⁶¹ In studies about the goods owned by the Hospitallers at the time of their death, expensive clothes and related items often feature quite prominently.⁶² An example of a well-documented 'wardrobe' is that of Frà Scipione Monforte, who died in 1671. Among other items, the inventory of his belongings included an outfit consisting of two pairs of trousers, a jacket, two pairs of satin sleeves and a pair of embroidered sleeves, another outfit

made from Dutch cloth, another suit made from French woollen cloth, various other outfits, mantles of various materials, five pairs of satin socks of different colours both new and used, nine pairs of new shoes, two pairs of boots, two pairs of spurs, as well as hats, collars, handkerchiefs, and more than 20 shirts.⁶³ In 1700, in order to celebrate his appointment as General of the Galleys, Frà Spinola donned a new and expensive outfit.⁶⁴ The evidence from these case-studies, together with that provided by paintings, demonstrate how the pride and prestige of being a Hospitaller was expressed through expensive, intricate clothes and accessories, rather than through simplicity.

Clothes could delineate as well as hide the body as part of various processes that contextualized a man's presence and activities in a particular setting. There are many ways to imagine and discuss Hospitaller bodies: the body in church or at court, the body feasting, fighting, sailing, imprisoned, tortured and posing for portraits.⁶⁵ Portraiture played an important role in noble and, hence, Hospitaller culture, as a means to signal a definite and self-conscious form of identity; there was a common European visual language of reproduction of the aristocratic body, which nonetheless paid attention to local particularities. Clothes in images are particularly laden with the power of the symbolic; social and moral attributes are encoded into them and into their wearers, and the sense of difference is heightened. Hospitaller attire was quite complex, reflecting the general intricacy of male dress at the time.⁶⁶ A cursory glance across any range of early modern Hospitaller portraits will reveal a profusion of elaborate clothes, outfits and suits of armour, as well as shoes, caps, collars, shirts, frills and so on.⁶⁷ A range of colours is discernible in portraits of Hospitallers, but the most common is black, a reflection of the noble and religious connotations of this hue, standing for piety and self-restraint. These same attributes are, in fact, emphasized in the portrait of Frà Jean Jacques de Cordon d'Evieu II, the Order's ambassador to the Holy See (Figure 4.1). A close inspection of such paintings often reveals that elaborate patterns were embroidered onto the material; these are indicators of the expensiveness of the cloth and reminders of how opulent fabrics stood for wealth, dignity and piety.⁶⁸ Moreover, as in the case of Figure 4.1, intricate collars and sleeves of velvet and lace were also inserted. Black was the most expensive dye and it could not be changed into any other colour, thereby denoting integrity.⁶⁹ Black was also the perfect colour against which the white eight-pointed cross of the Order could be made to stand out most sharply. Portraits and images of Hospitallers were cultural commodities that underlined the corporate and individual sense of heroism that pervaded the Order. Their status and habit



FIGURE 4.1 Pierre Mignard, Commander Frà Jean Jacques de Cordon d'Evieu II, c. 1650s, oil on canvas, 126×101.5 cm. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta, Malta. Acknowledgement: Heritage Malta.

was a source of pride for all Hospitallers; when he described his stay in Madrid, Frà Alonso de Contreras remarked: 'Here I stayed, wearing my habit; and every one gave me their congratulations, some out of envy, others out of love'.⁷⁰

Along with clothes, armour and weapons were another constitutive material element that defined a Hospitaller's masculine identity, emphasizing physicality and the warrior dimension.⁷¹ Many Hospitallers were depicted with swords, batons and shields and wearing elaborate armour, generally of the half-armour type or breastplates, covering the upper body of its wearer.⁷² The practical usefulness and effectiveness of armour in battles between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries has been the subject of extensive debates. It is generally argued that in an age of gunpowder and pistols, armour afforded little protection to its wearer. Nevertheless,

progress in weapons technology, and more significantly the adoption of new techniques, was generally erratic. This meant that, in certain situations, armour could still be used effectively in battle.⁷³

Even if the practical uses of armour became increasingly limited, its cultural value did not decline. Body armour of good quality had to be custom-made for each individual, which was naturally expensive and available only for rich noblemen, thereby distinguishing them from common soldiers.⁷⁴ The armour of the Hospitallers was often decorated with elaborate patterns and could include gold and silver linings. The breastplates of the Hospitallers were incised with the eight-pointed cross, indicating both their status as religious knights and their willingness to die for Christ. Possibly even more than clothes, extant armour proclaims the individuality of the wearer, with each suit of armour having a form of personality; it preserves an impression of a Hospitaller's body shape, height and weight at a particular point in time. Pictorial representations convey in a particularly evocative manner the cultural significance of armour when worn by its user.⁷⁵ Hospitallers in armour and accompanied by weapons constitute an assertive carriage of the body redolent with manly and militaristic magnificence. Images of Hospitallers often show them with their arm akimbo, one hand on a hip or one of their elbows protruding outwards; this was a male militaristic gesture indicative of the leadership attributes of its bearer, most significantly success and defiance.⁷⁶ Collectively, bodies, weapons and armour were a visible manifestation of the Hospitallers' distinctive identity that set them further apart from other men, both their equals and inferiors. At their death, knights bequeathed their armour and weapons onto select individuals: Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt, for instance, left six arquebuses (firearms) to six different Hospitallers, including one worth 8 *scudi* to the Grand Commander Mourier.⁷⁷ Given the personal nature of such items, these types of bequests constituted a passing on of an intimate part of a Hospitaller's self and identity.

Clothing generally consisted of detachable parts, so garments could be disassembled, reconstructed and re-used.⁷⁸ The same applies to the clothes and armour of the Hospitallers. Customs had developed within the Order whereby the Conventual Church received the richly decorated clothes or vestments of deceased Hospitallers, which were suitable to be turned into liturgical vestments; similarly, in Venice, secular clothes were regularly donated to be converted into religious vestments. Furthermore, the Marshall (the Commander of the Order's armies) received the weapons and armour; armour was regularly patched, repaired and altered during its life.⁷⁹ Besides the potential re-use and recycling of the metal from weapons and armour,

many pieces – including some from the Rhodes period and the Great Siege of 1565 – were preserved in the Palace armoury as part of a conscious effort by the Order to foster a glorious collective memory. For instance, the so-called *Verdelin* suit of armour, which was worn by Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt when he was painted by Caravaggio (Figure 1.5), may have previously been la Valette's, and was used by subsequent knights, even into the eighteenth century, who posed for their portraits wearing it.⁸⁰ Hence, a number of elements – beards, hair, clothes, ornaments, weapons and armour – came together to fashion the male body of a Hospitaller. The arrangements of these prosthetic elements varied over time so that the image of a Hospitaller changed. Yet this changing image was also underlined by an important continuity in the recurring presence of the eight-pointed cross as the distinctive corporate badge of a Hospitaller. The body and its interaction with the social environment and material culture were significant in defining the masculine identity of the Hospitallers.

Chastity and Self-Control

In the context of a religious order, chastity involves the renunciation of an active sexual life, while celibacy involves the rejection of marriage. It is possible to be married and chaste, or celibate and unchaste; to break the vow of chastity amounted to sacrilege, the violation of something sacred. Protestant reformers had shunned chastity as an impractical and unbiblical ideal, but the Catholic Church reaffirmed its validity as a means to lead a temperate existence.⁸¹ The life of a Hospitaller was meant to be guided by the vows he took at his investiture – obedience, poverty and chastity – and by the level of his commitment to uphold them.⁸² While in ideal terms all three vows were to be equally observed, obedience tended to be considered as the most important one by the Grand Master and the senior members of the Order, as it guaranteed discipline and secured their positions of powers. Poverty, in the Hospitaller sense of not personally owning possessions, was necessary for the maintenance of the religious image of the Order as an institution of the Church. On the other hand, chastity seems to have been something that was desired and admired, but which, if ignored, tended not to have a negative impact on a Hospitaller's career. Nonetheless, leading a chaste life or departing from it was a significant conduit through which Hospitallers mediated their relations between themselves, and with other men and women.

In late antiquity and the early medieval period, some Christians understood the celibate man as a suitable civic leader, free from personal, familial and dynastic entanglements. Under Pope Gregory the Great (590–604), this developed into a model that linked asceticism, celibacy and power.⁸³ Medieval Europe was characterised by a celibate clergy and by monasteries that provided a setting where men formed bonds of brotherhood.⁸⁴ One of the main issues dealt with in the study of medieval clerical and monastic masculinities has centred on the question of whether priests and monks were seen to be less than masculine because of their rejection of the household model of masculinity involving marriage and offspring. In this vein, the clergy could be considered as a ‘third gender’ or ‘emasculine’, because their chaste status set them apart from mainstream masculinity.⁸⁵ On the other hand, many monks and clerics formulated – using military terms – a vision of chastity as the ultimate masculine endeavour because of their ability to master self-control over the body and its natural drives.⁸⁶

There were wide-ranging debates about the merit of clerical celibacy during the course of the late Middle Ages. These culminated in the Reformation’s outright rejection of clerical masculinity in favour of married, patriarchal pastors.⁸⁷ In his *Institutio Christiani Matrimonii* (1526), Erasmus had already argued that although true celibacy was laudable, it was hard to achieve and that marriage was spiritually equal to sacerdotal or monastic celibacy.⁸⁸ In sixteenth-century Germany, Protestant reformers encouraged the fostering of a controlled form of sexuality as a component of masculinity; many former monks, including Luther, needed to adjust to a non-celibate life with their wives, which also altered relationships between the men themselves.⁸⁹ In England the clergy were no longer required to be celibate, however, students and fellows of colleges and universities were still expected to observe celibacy. Even so, some sexual experience was deemed to be useful for a young man to acquire confidence in his manhood and many engaged in sexual activity in ways deemed to maintain their honour.⁹⁰ Protestant societies spurned the link between chastity and manhood, but they still emphasized the importance of self-control and mastering one’s own drives in establishing an effective masculinity.⁹¹

As in most spheres of contention, the response of the Roman Catholic Church to the Protestant attack was to reaffirm with increased vigour the validity and utility of chastity. Virginity and chastity remained fundamental markers of Catholic societies and polities.⁹² Throughout early modern Europe, there were high numbers of bachelors: from singing *castrati* who were considered to be early modern celebrities, to barber-surgeons in

Turin who did not marry but were still able to ensure the continuity of their workshops, to members of the new religious orders (Jesuits, in particular), whose formulation of clerical masculinity successfully combined a heroic chastity, affective piety and involvement in the world.⁹³ Such case-studies reveal that there were alternative performative spaces to the household, where manliness could be satisfactorily established, even if not related to the traditional roles of husband and biological father. Chastity remained an essential value for Catholics; at the same time, the ability to control one's passions and drives was highly regarded both by Catholics and Protestants. Thus, whether he was a Protestant or a Catholic, a man was expected to be able to control himself and the various aspects of his life, if he was to be considered a proper man.⁹⁴

These lines of thought reverberated in the conduct literature of the Order, which presented male role models to be imitated. Frà Castiglione warned Hospitallers to be wary of women's beauty and charm. A woman was really beautiful only when she was modest in her being and disposition. At the same time, men should not focus their thoughts on women's bodies; those who did were 'sensuous, frivolous, lascivious, and vain persons, in whom there was no judgement, no discretion, no reason'. He pointed out and deplored how discussions among gentlemen and knights about the characteristics of different women (for example trying to decide which was best, the red-haired, the blonde or the brunette?) often led to disagreement and fights. Frà Castiglione therefore advised vain and light-hearted young men to be wary of women, for they were like the sirens who tried to ensnare Ulysses.⁹⁵ Furthermore, though he acknowledged that a happy marriage could bring man contentment, Frà Castiglione emphasized the value and benefits of celibacy to men, particularly the freedom it offered.⁹⁶ The Maltese Hospitaller Chaplain Frà Fabrizio Cagliola warned all those who had taken the vow of chastity to control both their thoughts and their actions.⁹⁷ Frà Marc'Antonio Zondadari acknowledged that, due to their particular vocation, Hospitallers had to mingle with women, however, Hospitallers needed to be on alert to avoid any possible female enticements.⁹⁸

The idea and ideal of chastity within the Order was meant to acquire an architectural-physical-geographical manifestation in the creation of a *collachio*, a walled enclave within Valletta, where the Hospitallers were to live separately from the rest of the population; the word *collachio* may have been derived from the Latin term *collatio*, meaning a bringing together in one space.⁹⁹ Some of the plans for the building of Valletta show that an area was dedicated to a *collachio* but walls would not surround it. Such plans would seem to indicate areas of the city where Hospitallers were to have apposite

buildings set aside for them, rather than a purpose-built enclave.¹⁰⁰ It was meant to be a holy space free from the impurities and dirt of the world. A *collachio* had existed in Rhodes and the establishment of a similar enclave in Malta was often discussed. The Chapter General of 1578 called for the 're-establishment of the Saintly Institution of the *collachio* as it had been in Rhodes', so that the Hospitallers would live together in a fraternal manner, separate from seculars and from prostitutes.¹⁰¹ Such calls were repeated from the late sixteenth to the first quarter of the seventeenth century.¹⁰² In such appeals, the Rhodes *collachio* was depicted in ideal terms – a perception that is still widely held today – but its intactness and inviolability have been over-estimated.¹⁰³ It was an ideal that lived on and inspired a pious and vocal section within the Order, but one that failed to materialize. The pressing need for Valletta to be built as speedily as possible in order to defend the Order and Malta from the Ottomans, may in part explain why a *collachio* was put aside. The failure to have a *collachio* would seem to stand as evidence of the overall half-hearted commitment within the Order to chastity and separateness from the wider world. The case of the Valletta *collachio* illustrates the inter-connectedness between architecture, space, social hierarchies and gender.¹⁰⁴ This was a contest between chastity and sexuality in which the latter came out on top and thus influenced in a pervading manner the architecture of Valletta and the nature of contacts between Hospitallers and non-members of the Order.

Free from the constraints of a *collachio*, many Hospitallers engaged in extensive sexual activities that were tolerated as long as these did not lead to marriage. In order to marry, a Hospitaller had to acquire papal dispensation, and there is evidence of a number of such applications to the papal curia throughout the period, as well as of marriages contracted clandestinely without the appropriate dispensation.¹⁰⁵ The Order generally took a very negative view of Hospitallers who married or wished to do so. When the Council learnt of the intention of the Prior of Bohemia Frà Colloredo to marry, it was considered to be 'a great novelty', in a negative sense.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, the noble milieu from which many Hospitallers hailed was one in which marriage was highly important as a hinge that connected great landed families to each other. For men, it was also a means to gain wider societal recognition through the establishment of a household.¹⁰⁷ Incidentally, the members of the Spanish military-religious orders of Calatrava and Alcántara had been granted permission to marry through a papal bull of Pope Paul III in 1540, while the Knights of St Stephen had been allowed to marry from the very beginning.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, for a religious corporation, marriage could represent a threat to its very existence and this seems to

have been the view adopted by the Order of Malta. The Hospitallers would have been well aware of the reduction in scope and activity of the Spanish orders over the course of the sixteenth century, while the example of Albert Hohenzollern (1490–1568), the last Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, who embraced Lutheranism, abolished the Order, made himself Duke of Prussia in 1525 and married in 1526, could not have failed to leave an impression upon the Hospitallers.¹⁰⁹ Hence, a harsh condemnatory language characterizes those documents that deal with Hospitallers who married clandestinely. Frà Briand de Gittons was said ‘to have spurned his profession and vow, and married’.¹¹⁰ Frà Gaspard d’Acton had ‘of his own authority dismissed his habit and erred against our chastity when he copulated and consumed his marriage’.¹¹¹ The Devil was thought to have guided Frà d’Acton’s actions, through which he had placed his soul at serious prejudice. Another Hospitaller, the servant-at-arms Frà Marc’Antoine Augier of Provence, also married clandestinely, causing the wrath of both the Order and the Inquisition to descend upon him. According to the Inquisition, by marrying, Frà Augier was guilty of bigamy because he had broken the binding promise he had made to God, the Virgin Mary and St John the Baptist when he had joined the Order.¹¹² Harsh punishments were envisaged for these miscreants, but, as happened in other cases, the punishments were often commuted. At the same time, no effort was spared to annul or prevent the marriage. There was a tacit recognition within the Order that while some sex with women was tolerable, celibacy was not to be lightly discarded by Hospitallers. It was essential for the Hospitallers to exercise restraint over their emotions.

Hospitallers and Women

Patriarchal values ordered the relations of the Hospitallers with each other, but did these same standards shape their relations with women? The interaction between Hospitallers and women ranged from respect, love and mutuality on one side, to use, abuse and bullying on the other. A Hospitaller and a woman could not form an official family unit, but a variety of informal arrangements were in place. On 15 August 1646, Inquisitor Giovanni Battista Gori-Pannellini wrote to the Secretary of State in Rome, informing him that some knights were planning to kill him (the Inquisitor) for having imprisoned their prostitutes.¹¹³ In 1684, Frà Pietro Peruzzi declared that he did not consider it sinful to have sex with women, as long as these were not associated with another man.¹¹⁴ These are

but two of numerous examples that illustrate how intimate contact between Hospitallers and women was taken for granted, as long as certain emotional and behavioural boundaries were observed. In fact, according to Frà Cagliola, the tolerant attitude of the elders of the Order towards prostitution and gambling derived from practical reasons such as maintaining the peace. The important thing was that money spent on such outlets did not hinder the ability of the commanderies to finance the activities of the Order.¹¹⁵ Sex and success with women were important ways for most men to prove their manliness; this was particularly so for noblemen, from whose ranks the Hospitaller Knights hailed. The challenge for men was how to strike a balance between an active sexual life and restraint. Someone who was seen to be overly promiscuous could easily be considered as dishonourable and even effeminate because of his lack of self-control.¹¹⁶ The desire of individual men, including Hospitallers, to assert their identity through sexual prowess often had the effect of disrupting public peace. Thus, even though the family unit traditionally associated with patriarchy was missing in Hospitaller–female relations, these were still underlined by the interplay of authority, submission and resistance characteristic of patriarchy.

Much of the conduct literature and the official documentation of the Order are characterized by a negative view of women. Any form of intimate bodily contact with women was punishable; according to the rules of the Order, if a Hospitaller allowed a woman to wash his feet or his head or to make his bed, he would be punished by *quarantaine*, which involved a series of humiliating provisions such as eating food on the ground rather than at table.¹¹⁷ This fearful view of women in Hospitaller statutes had a long history: an Anglo–Norman *Hospitaller Riule* from the 1180s admonished Hospitallers ‘[not to] let a woman near you; Satan will soon have you trapped’.¹¹⁸ Contact with women was deemed to lead to confusion, danger and uncleanness because certain boundaries had been violated.¹¹⁹ In 1623, Frà Curzio Bombino wrote to Pope Urban VIII to tell him how the Order ‘was being governed by [the] prostitutes’ of the senior members of the Order, so that the Order had become a ‘Babylon of sins’ characterized by ‘arguments, simony [and] carnality’.¹²⁰ Such attitudes explain, in part, the periodic announcements that were made to restrict the presence and mobility of prostitutes in Valletta.¹²¹ At its most cynical, this negative attitude towards women reduced them to being means to obtain ends. The Bailiff Guiral argued that a certain Pope had granted a plenary indulgence to those who frequented prostitutes as a remedy against sodomy.¹²² According to Inquisitor Angelo Ranuzzi, Grand Master Nicolas Cotoner used lascivious women to control the will of the young.¹²³

In contrast, there was also within the Order a norm of respect and care towards women. The Hospitallers were meant to protect women because they were weak creatures whose honour was highly vulnerable.¹²⁴ On an institutional level, the Order provided much needed charitable assistance to various women through its Holy Infirmary, while dowries were provided each year to enable poor girls to marry.¹²⁵ Individual Hospitallers also helped women in distress. The French Bailiff Henri de Vallençay regularly interceded with his powerful patrons in Rome in order to help various poor women join convents and to help convents with financial problems.¹²⁶ Other Hospitallers offered their medical or magical healing skills to women who went to them; however, the intimate bodily contact between Hospitallers and women involved in many of these cures was often the subject of rumours and Inquisitorial suspicion.¹²⁷ On another level, many Hospitallers were engaged in the service of prominent women. Frà Castiglione, whose book recommended extreme caution in relation to women, had in fact been an agent of Isabella d'Este (1474–1539) while he was in Rhodes from 1505 to 1508, acquiring ancient artefacts for her.¹²⁸ Furthermore, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Hospitallers provided an escort service for princesses at sea. In 1548, Frà Nicolas De Villegagnon captained the French fleet that escorted the young Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots from Scotland to France.¹²⁹ In 1600, Frà Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza escorted Marie de Medici from Florence to Marseille.¹³⁰ In 1639, a Princess of Butera was escorted from Palermo to Naples on the Order's galleys.¹³¹ The status and prestige of the Hospitallers as 'Soldiers of Christ', their exclusive social pedigree as noblemen and aristocrats, the sovereign and neutral status of the Order, their skills as seafarers and fighters, and their religious vows (in particular, chastity) must have all mitigated in favour of the presence of the Hospitallers on these voyages. They were seen to be able to provide an escort that was safe and reliable on more than one level. This caring and respectful manner towards women was underlined by the value of the Hospitallers' religious and chaste identity, although as the examples of the healers indicate, contacts between Hospitallers and women were rarely exempt from some suspicion.

The Hospitallers described their city of Valletta as the 'Convent'. The paradox was that this Convent-city, together with the rest of the harbour area, was full of prostitutes and courtesans.¹³² Many Hospitallers frequented women for sex on a regular basis. According to Inquisitor Fabio Chigi, they did so from the very first night they landed in Malta.¹³³ Even Grand Masters

kept mistresses, most notoriously perhaps Grand Masters de Paule and Nicolas Cotoner.¹³⁴ Moreover, the large quantity of visitors to the island meant that there was a substantial demand for commercial sex. A visitor to the island in 1576 noted that beside Maltese prostitutes, there were also Italian, Spanish, Greek and Moorish ones. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, Alonso de Contreras described the *quiracas* (courtesans) of Malta as being so fair and witty 'that they are mistresses of all that belongs to both gentlemen and soldiers'.¹³⁵ An impression of the appearance of such *quiracas* is preserved in a drawing from c. 1600 by Frà Opizio Giudotti (Figure 4.2). On the left-hand side is the courtesan when she went outdoors, shrouded in a big black cloak which covered most of her person, including part of her face; however, it was still possible to see her bright red shoes and part of her colourful patterned skirt. On the right-hand side Giudotti drew the courtesan when indoors, without the cloak. Her luxurious dress shows a number of distinctive elements,



FIGURE 4.2 Frà Opizio Giudotti, *Maltese Costumes* (detail), c. 1600, 27×40 cm (dimensions of the whole image), N.L.M. Libr. Ms.413/I, insert (centre spread) between 164 and 165. Acknowledgement: © National Library of Malta.

including a red and blue pattern on the skirt, embroidery and lace; the corset is bright blue and the sleeves are made of a translucent material, which allows the viewer to see the skin of the woman's arms. She is also wearing an elaborate hairstyle, which includes a red flower. Most women would have been driven into prostitution by poverty and the majority would remain poor; on the other hand, some, like Contreras's *quiraca* and the one depicted here, managed to accumulate considerable fortunes.

Prostitution was illegal but widely accepted in Malta, with most women working as freelancers, although pimps were not uncommon.¹³⁶ As was the case in Italian cities, prostitutes in Malta were meant to wear distinctive items of clothing to distinguish them from 'honest women' and to make it easier for men to identify them.¹³⁷ Furthermore, there were repeated attempts at controlling where prostitutes could and could not operate, although the effectiveness of such injunctions generally proved to be short lived.¹³⁸ These measures represented attempts at forging social boundaries that demarcated the clean from the unclean. In this way, the Order could appear to be paying lip service to its vow of chastity, to the Papacy, and to those pious Hospitallers who wanted prostitution eliminated. The Revolt of 1581 against Grand Master la Cassière had been sparked off by his decision to expel all prostitutes and courtesans from Valletta. The official edict of expulsion highlighted a range of prostitutes, from 'courtesans to wenches', all of whom were expected to leave Valletta within a month from the issue of the edict. If a prostitute returned to Valletta without permission, she would be flogged throughout Valletta and Vittoriosa the first time she was caught, and exiled from Malta and all her goods confiscated the second time.¹³⁹ La Cassière, having realized how difficult it was to discipline the Hospitallers themselves, decided to discipline the women instead. The report drawn up by Cardinal Visconti, the papal envoy sent to Malta to investigate the Revolt, noted with indignation how practically all senior Hospitallers had a concubine and, in some cases, even children.¹⁴⁰ Inquisitor Federico Cefalotto alleged that la Cassière had excluded from his ban the concubines of powerful bailiffs and of his friends, thereby showing favouritism and the authoritarian nature of his character.¹⁴¹ When la Cassière was forcibly removed from his Palace in Valletta to the fortress of St Angelo in Vittoriosa, many prostitutes grasped the opportunity to publicly humiliate him and take their revenge for what he had attempted to do to them. It was a procession turned upside-down, because, instead of reverence and splendour, it downgraded the Grand Master.¹⁴² One annalist of the Order noted how when la Cassière neared the shore of Vittoriosa, the women of that city and of Senglea came down and cried and bewailed

the fate of the Grand Master as if they had lost someone dear to them.¹⁴³ In this way a contrast was created between the worldly women of Valletta, who supported the rebel-leader Romegas, and the good women of Vittoriosa and Senglea, who supported la Cassière. When la Cassière ordered the eviction of all prostitutes from Valletta, he was trying to encourage a more holy way of life among the Hospitallers, but in the process he hit a very sensitive nerve. Some years prior to these events, Pope Pius V had also tried to regulate prostitutes in Rome, but he clashed with the civic authorities of the city and his measures were only partly successful.¹⁴⁴ Prostitutes, in both Malta and Rome were often firmly integrated within neighbourhoods or clientage networks, which gave them a level of protection against such regulatory measures.

In 1635, Inquisitor Chigi described Malta as '[a]n island inhabited by bachelors, and by youths who have no one to guide them, and who fear nothing, [who hail] from all the nations of the world, and the old [ones] are not saints'.¹⁴⁵ Chigi went on to describe how the Hospitallers led a life of ease and luxury. This view of Hospitallers living the good life is often borne out by the records of the Inquisition. Although sexual offences by Hospitallers amounted to only 3 per cent of the accusations against them at the Inquisition of Malta (Table 3.2), details about their relations with women emerge in many other instances. In particular, there was a correlation between food, wine, feasting, women and the consequent breaking of abstinence. The women that frequented the tables of Hospitallers fell under three broad categories – prostitutes, concubines and friends – although such distinctions easily collapsed into each other, particularly in gossip and rumour. The Sicilian Frà Francesco d'Amico was reported to the Inquisitor because, together with another knight and two women (one Maltese and one Sicilian), they had eaten eggs during Lent, in a pleasant garden under the shade of a tree.¹⁴⁶ Another group of Hospitallers, consisting of a chaplain and three or four knights also shared a meal with some prostitutes and ignored the rules of fasting. One of these women, Laura, who was a widow, described how the Hospitallers had visited her house and had fooled around with her daughter by feeding her with a spoon.¹⁴⁷ Another group of French and Italian knights, in the company of a Sicilian courtesan, also ate meat on a prohibited day.¹⁴⁸ Prostitutes and courtesans were in effect pivots around which Hospitaller sociability gravitated and an important constitutive element of their masculinity.¹⁴⁹

Many Hospitallers had no qualms about enjoying themselves through food, wine and the company of each other and women. Such occasions could be characterized by both refinement and vulgarity, where the spectre

of irrational behaviour and illicit sexual activity was ever present. In the above examples, contact between Hospitallers and women was relegated to houses, taverns and gardens – that is to spaces that were secluded and, to some extent, private. Yet, some Hospitallers felt no shame at flouting their vow of chastity by being seen in the company of women in public: one French knight even partook in a Holy Week procession in 1645 with his female friend by his side.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the division between private and public space was relative; the inclination of people to report events to the Inquisition meant that few spaces could be free from public scrutiny. The prescriptive literature and the various edicts regulating prostitutes represented attempts to create boundaries that would also demarcate perceived limits of cleanliness (the Hospitallers) and dirt (the prostitutes). In reality, such boundaries proved to be doorways as much as they were bars; on the streets and in buildings, both private and public, Hospitallers and women mingled and interacted.¹⁵¹

As knights, the Hospitallers were duty-bound to defend women, and although many did so, many others had no misgivings about being violent towards women. This violence generally took the form of actual physical harm, rape and damage to property; the most likely victims were prostitutes, women of ill-repute and women who refused the sexual advances of the Hospitallers. A survey of incidents recorded in the Archives of the Order over the period 1572 to 1604 reveals instances of windows being shattered by the throwing of stones, damage to private property as a result of attempts by Hospitallers to force their way into a house, sexual assaults, woundings and instances where dung was spread on doorsteps; in many cases it was a combination of these.¹⁵² Similar incidents of Hospitaller violence against women are found in the Archive of the Inquisition. In 1606, an investigation began concerning the Spanish Chaplain Frà Pietro Rea Camarasa, Prior of the Conventual Church (1601–1624), concerning his activities while he was confessor of the Hospitaller Nuns of St Ursula in Valletta. It emerged from the testimonies of various people, including some of the nuns themselves, that he solicited sex from them during confession. If they refused his advances, he used to reveal their confessions to the Mother Superior, with whom he allegedly had an affair. At one point he was transferred to another convent, this time for repentant women, where rather unsurprisingly the same problem arose. Once he became Prior, Camarasa was again responsible for the Nuns of St Ursula and he pressured them not to talk about what had happened; some disregarded his threats and still wrote to the Inquisitor. It is not clear what sentence, if any, was passed on Frà Camarasa, but his career was not affected by these allegations, as he

remained in office until he died in 1624 and even acted as Lieutenant of the Order in 1622 in between the demise of one Grand Master and the selection of another.¹⁵³ In another case, Inquisitor Giacinto Filiberto di Messerano wrote to Rome in January 1702 to report the Sicilian Knight Frà Cutelli, who had abducted a daughter of an Inquisition official from inside the Church of the Nuns of St Ursula in Valletta. Frà Cutelli's impetuous action led to a full-scale diplomatic quarrel between the Order, the Inquisitor and Rome.¹⁵⁴

The various forms of violence perpetrated on women by Hospitallers were manifestations of an aggressively assertive masculinity, which was generally, though not exclusively, played out as a group of men preying on a victim. The all-male group dynamic emboldened individuals to carry out acts that demonstrated their manhood; the tumult on the streets and the violation of private property resulted in the usurpation of space by (usually) drunken men. The application of dung on women's doorsteps was meant as a metaphor for these women's dirty lives. Given the Hospitallers' supposed commitment to the protection of women, all such acts were egregious abuses of power. This was most evident in the case of Frà Camarasa, who in his position as sole confessor and with the cooperation of the Mother Superior, held the Nuns of St Ursula hostage to his sexual whims. Many attacks on women occurred at night under cover of darkness; little wonder that Frà Castiglione had unequivocally stated: 'It is certain that going out at night without need is nothing other than disturbing nature's order'.¹⁵⁵ All these acts unsettled the social order and public peace. The violent assertion of Hospitaller masculinity at the expense of women was a disruptive form of masculinity that needed to be castigated. The punishments meted out by the Order to those involved in such incidents included the obligation to indemnify losses, the loss of seniority, imprisonment and the possible or actual expulsion from the Order. Though the intended punishment could be quite heavy, it tended to be commuted or lessened soon after. This was the general pattern in an Order whose members could rely on their elevated noble status and powerful patrons in Rome and other courts for protection, but it may have been the case that the Order hoped to frighten individuals into not re-offending, though recidivists were common.

In effect, the Hospitallers often got away with their misdemeanours against women in a situation characterized by a disproportionate imbalance of power against disadvantaged women.¹⁵⁶ Even so, there is evidence of some room for women to obtain redress of their grievances: in 1696, the prostitute Anna de Masi testified against the Italian knight, Frà Scipione Gaddi, who had profaned the name of the *Madonna del Carmine*. She also

emphasized how the same knight had attempted 'to rape her from behind'.¹⁵⁷ Frà Gaddi himself admitted that together with other friends he had been 'drunk on that evening and after having committed various insolences across Valletta', he 'was moved by an extraordinary sensuality' and he forced Anna to please him and he mentioned the *Madonna del Carmine* in vain.¹⁵⁸ The emphasis in this case was on how the debauchery of Frà Gaddi – his excessive drinking, behaviour, sex and blasphemy – led to the collapse of social order and constituted an offence to God. As punishment – for infringing abstinence and for heresy, but not for the rape – he was made to abjure in public. For the Inquisition, rape was not a matter of religious concern. Anna may not have been able to have Frà Gaddi punished for her sexual abuse, but she did manage to have him publicly humiliated for heresy, the offence she emphasized in her own testimony.

Of all the charges brought against the Hospitallers at the Inquisition, sorcery ranked as the second highest accusation at 16 per cent (Table 3.2.). A third of these dealt with *incanti ad amorem* or love magic, where a Hospitaller attempted to make a woman fall in love with him, or allow herself to be known carnally, through the use of magic potions, charms or incantations. The basis of love magic was an assumption that a woman could be possessed to induce her to give into a Hospitaller's wishes.¹⁵⁹ Such an idea was objectionable to Catholic theology, with its emphasis on free will, particularly because of Protestant belief in predestination. The Catholic Church was 'determined to maintain the sinner's responsibility for his own sins'.¹⁶⁰ The users of love magic varied across Europe: in sixteenth-century Modena it was mostly women (the majority prostitutes) trying to lure men, although priests were also common practitioners.¹⁶¹ In southern Italy, men resorted to it most frequently.¹⁶² In Malta, Hospitallers were avid consumers of these women-luring preparations; this resulted from situations where they could not overtly express their intentions towards women. Most of these charms left their users disappointed; however this does not detract from the significance of the attempt to manipulate a person's mind. It represented an extension of the physical violence described above into a form of psychological abuse. An analysis of the Inquisitorial documentation reveals a complex and at times contradictory picture. Muslim slaves, Jews, prostitutes and old women were regular purveyors of love incantations.¹⁶³ But Hospitallers themselves often provided their brethren with magical solutions of their own, thereby showing any imagined divide between popular and

learned magic to be too rigid.¹⁶⁴ The situation in Malta was also peculiar in that the cosmopolitan character of the Order meant that Hospitallers brought with them to Malta spells and incantations they had learnt in their native countries – mainly Spain, France and Italy – as well as during their voyages in the Levant.¹⁶⁵ All these factors contributed to creating a pluralism of magical practices.

There were various ways to go about love magic, like obtaining a person's garment to cast a spell on it, or mixing concoctions made from a mixture of animal parts and human semen with a woman's food.¹⁶⁶ Passing a nail through the heart of a dog while stating a woman's name was another means to secure her affections.¹⁶⁷ Other methods involved the summoning of demons, reading the Bible and writing down extracts from it, using herbs that had been blessed during Mass, magnets, blessed candles, and using a blend of profane and sacred words in the form of prayers.¹⁶⁸ At times, it was Hospitallers themselves who fell victim to love magic: Frà Alessandro Pagano believed that the strong urges he felt for a woman could have been caused by a spell she might have cast upon him.¹⁶⁹ The use of love magic also led to complex love entanglements: the Knight Frà Vincenzo lo Monte was in love with a Christian slave called Francesca; in order to make Francesca love him, he sought to ingratiate himself with her friend, the Muslim slave Aixa, by helping Aixa to make her master, the Commander Frà Staitti fall even more in love with her by procuring for Aixa the magical services of an old woman. Frà lo Monte admitted all of this to the Inquisitor, but he was quick to add that the magic remedy he had given to Aixa had been a joke.¹⁷⁰

The Inquisition was generally sceptical of the efficacy of love magic and its ability to manipulate free will.¹⁷¹ Hence, where punishments were meted out for the making of love potions, they tended to be light ones, generally involving the recitation of a number of prayers, the giving of alms, confession and communion. At times, penitents were expected to abjure in public (often commuted to abjuring in private) and to present themselves at certain times to the Inquisitor.¹⁷² The stance of the Inquisition in these cases shows a concern with Hospitallers' religious errors, such as the belief that people and God could be influenced through means not sanctioned by the Church. The Inquisition, therefore, sought to discipline Hospitallers by giving them a routine of prayers and religious acts to follow. The use of love magic also had an impact on the Hospitallers' masculinity. While women were victims of Hospitallers' illicit attempts to control their minds, the Hospitallers were not immune from being victims themselves. Other men and women could direct love magic against the Hospitallers, thereby

destabilizing a Hospitaller's manliness by casting doubts on his ability to be master of himself.

Hospitallers and Sodomy

Between December 1612 and August 1616, the Inquisition of Malta compiled evidence relating to a number of Hospitaller chaplains and deacons who were suspected of sorcery. Over the course of the investigation, the Inquisition also uncovered a series of illicit sexual activities taking place among those being investigated. This included a chaplain who frequented a prostitute and a number of hints about sexual intercourse between men. In 1612, the deacon Frà Marc Aurelio Solduerio was accused of attempting to gain the affection of a younger deacon, Frà Sebastiano Foena (described as 'the small unbearded one') by giving him some pastry to eat, in which he had mixed a magical powder. This powder was made of crushed bones that had been blessed on an altar and the person who digested it would be induced to love and obey its maker.¹⁷³ As in the cases above that dealt with women, ingestion of a substance was deemed to be an efficacious method of gaining control over a person's will. The magic powder was to subvert the interior balance of humours of Frà Foena, thereby leaving him vulnerable to the whims of the infatuated Frà Solduerio. The young deacon, however, did not touch the charmed pastry and was not polluted. The Inquisitor discovered that Frà Solduerio had been taught his sorcery by the Sicilian Hospitaller Chaplain Frà Paolo Garsia, renowned for practising witchcraft. The most intriguing testimony against Frà Garsia was that of another Chaplain, Frà Vincentio Giarratana, who said: 'It is about five years ago now that I had an Intense [*sic*] friendship with Frà Paolo Garsia of Augusta [Sicily] . . . One evening having gone to bed together, the said Garsia undressed himself'.¹⁷⁴ Frà Garsia then proceeded to perform some witchcraft, which included a floating candle and the summoning of the devil. Frà Giarratana stayed with Frà Garsia till the following morning. The outcome of this whole investigation is unclear and the same is true of another case, some 40 years later, which also involved the chaplains and deacons of the Conventual Church. In 1652, the Chaplain and Master of the Deacons, Frà Angelo Marruni was suspected of 'having committed the Nefarious sin' with a young Sicilian deacon, Don Francesco Himana. According to Himana himself, all Frà Marruni did was 'kiss him like a father would'.¹⁷⁵

These two cases raise many questions about the homosocial world of the Hospitallers. On the face of it, they seem to point to the existence of

concealed homosexual activities – possibly a subculture – within the clerical ranks of the Order. Nonetheless, a certain caution is warranted given that the evidence is far from unequivocal. Frà Giarratana's honesty in admitting to sleeping with Frà Garsia sounds astounding, given the severity with which sodomy could be punished; however, in medieval and early modern Europe, sharing a bed had a wider meaning than having sexual intercourse. For many impoverished people, this was a bare necessity, while for the better off, it was an expression of confidence.¹⁷⁶ In the case of Frà Solduerio and Frà Garsia, the central problem for the Inquisition was the recourse to magic and demons in an attempt to subvert self-control, rather than the pursuit of illicit sex as such, although the latter would have added to the gravity of the crime. On the other hand, in the case of Frà Marruni and Don Himana, the focus of the inquiry was specifically on sodomy, as indicated by the use of the term Nefarious (evil or immoral) sin. Though the meaning of this term could be ambiguous – nefarious sin could mean both anal intercourse, as well as intercourse with an animal – in this case, it strongly suggests the possibility of male anal intercourse. Above all, what the Maruni–Himana case shows is that there were many possible male–male relationships and that such same-sex relationships were underlined by a certain tension when the question at stake was whether the relationship was a chaste patriarchal–filial one or an unchaste sexual one. As for Frà Solduerio's attention to 'the small unbearded' Frà Foena, this reflected an early modern topos of older men being sexually interested in younger feminine-looking boys and men.¹⁷⁷ In both these cases, the opposites of old and young, active and passive, were pitted against each other, in a wider hierarchical system in which young men had to be subservient to their seniors until they themselves attained maturity (both physical and hierarchical). As in the rest of Europe, early modern Malta had a covert world of homoerotic encounters, which was condemned and could be severely punished if identified, but which was also tacitly allowed.¹⁷⁸

The history of homosexuality has played a key role in inspiring the history of masculinity and it has highlighted the tensions inherent in same-sex relationships in the light of the construction of strong heterosexual norms.¹⁷⁹ The study of sodomy and homosexuality highlights the fluidity of terms and identities that was possible, as well as the need for a history of subjectivity to gain a wider understanding of sexuality. In early modern Europe, engaging in sodomy did not confer a homosexual identity as understood in modern terms, and sodomy was a term applied to a number of sexual transgressions and not just anal intercourse among men.¹⁸⁰ For the Catholic Church, reproductive sex was the only permissible sex, so that

sodomy could refer to a number of non-reproductive sexual practices, and not just same-sex intercourse. Even so, Christian doctrine made it clear that sodomy damaged the reproductive ability of a society and provoked the wrath of God. Legal discourses also engaged with sodomy as a topic of condemnation and, therefore, discussion was limited to these considerations.¹⁸¹ The sciences (from medicine to astrology to alchemy) were influenced by theological and legal perspectives, yet they also formulated differing views about same-sex desires and relations that further complicate the study of sexuality.¹⁸² In early modern society, the line between honourable male–male friendship and debauched male–male sex was a thin one. Engaging in sodomy was likened to drunkenness, gluttony and fornication, in other words to behaviours that indicated an unmanly lack of self-control.¹⁸³

The documentation dealing with Hospitaller sodomy is rather limited, yet some observations are possible on the basis of 11 cases dealing with sodomy between 1541 and 1652. Sixteen Hospitallers were prosecuted, with 13 being found guilty, one cleared and two not specified. Particularly in the records of the Order, *crimen nefandum* seems to refer unequivocally to anal intercourse between men.¹⁸⁴ Although not many details are provided about those involved, it is possible to detect a prevalence of sodomitical practices among the Italian brethren, an intriguing detail that reflects the Europe-wide view of sodomy as the ‘Italian sin’.¹⁸⁵ Sodomy had certain ethnic connotations and besides the Italian stereotype, another widely held belief concerned Muslims, so that sodomy acquired one of its more precise meanings of sex with men, especially boys, when applied to them. Such practices were considered to be prevalent among the Muslim slaves in Malta.¹⁸⁶ In March 1616, during his second trip to Malta, William Lithgow noted down in his diary how a Spanish soldier and a Maltese boy were burnt at the stake for sodomy. As a result of this, more than 100 *Bardassoes* (prostitute boys) fled from Malta to Sicily to escape the same fate.¹⁸⁷ *Bardassoe* – meaning a debauched boy who offered himself to men for payment – was a term derived from Persian by way of Arabic, and which through Italian was believed to have entered French.¹⁸⁸ Thus, although no evidence has so far emerged of sexual intercourse between Hospitallers and their Muslim slaves – which would have implied an unacceptable inversion of the social order – the term *Bardassoe* highlights the fluidity of understandings of sodomy in early modern Europe.

Sodomy also had a certain class-based association, particularly in France, where it was considered to be particularly prevalent among the nobility and aristocracy and it was feared that it might spread down the social scale.

Significantly, in 1682, a 'Confraternity of Sodomites' composed of some of the leading noblemen of France, was discovered at the court of Louis XIV.¹⁸⁹ Among the contenders for the position of head of this confraternity was the Knight of Malta de Tilladet. The members of this confraternity decided to have more than one 'Grand Master' and the four that were chosen (including Frà de Tilladet) were given the task of drawing up a 'Rule'. Possibly under the influence of Frà de Tilladet, this Confraternity mimicked the setup of a military-religious order: its members took a vow of chastity towards women, used the title *chevalier*, modified the cross of the Order of St Michael by replacing St Michael trampling on the demon with a man trampling on a woman, and recognized that prominent personages, such as princes, were to receive particular privileges within the confraternity. There was to be a novitiate that would last until 'the beard appeared on the chin' and such physical qualities as being 'handsome, young, and well built' were particularly appreciated. When Louis XIV was told of this confraternity, he dissolved it and exiled from court many of its key figures, including Frà de Tilladet. Nevertheless, as the author of the work in which the existence of this confraternity was reported stated, 'Whatever power the king had, it was impossible for him to uproot from the minds of the young men the seeds of debauchery that were too firmly rooted there'.¹⁹⁰

This assertion was forcefully vindicated in a 1716 echo from Malta when the Inquisition came to know of the existence of a secret society made up of 12 knights and aspirant Hospitallers, called 'the Order of the Drinking Glasses', that was composed mostly or solely of Frenchmen.¹⁹¹ As far as it is possible to compare the names of the members of the French confraternity with this one in Malta, there would seem to have been no overlap in their membership. Still, the Order of the Drinking Glasses was modelled on lines very similar to the confraternity. There was an emphasis on drinking, feasting (the breaking of days of abstinence was particularly stressed), the renunciation of sex with women and the advocacy of sodomy with boys.¹⁹² In its administration, it mimicked the Order by electing a Grand Master, having a rule and the wearing of a distinctive badge, but its aims meant a turning upside-down of social norms. Significantly, the Grand Master of the Drinking Glasses was to serve until Carnival, so that the end of his term symbolically coincided with the descent into chaos and revelry associated with Carnival. The members of the Drinking Glasses also commissioned a leading Maltese artist to create for them a silver medal in the form of a drinking vessel, which they would wear as their distinctive badge. At the time when this case surfaced, the Inquisition of Malta was being headed by a pro-Inquisitor in view of the fact that a new Inquisitor had not been

appointed after the previous incumbent had left. The Congregation of the Holy Office in Rome sent detailed instructions to the Inquisition in Malta on how to proceed in this case.¹⁹³ After this, however, not much is known about the Drinking Glasses. Given the prominence of those involved and the indeterminate authority of a pro-Inquisitor, it would seem that the case was allowed to die away quietly. The Grand Prior of the Order, however, did confiscate the medals of the Drinking Glasses' members, an act that may also have been intended to signal its formal dissolution; and according to the Venetian Minister in Malta, at least one of its members was punished and publicly humiliated by the Council of the Order.¹⁹⁴

Not all Hospitallers were able to get away lightly when accused of sodomy. The language used against sodomites was highly condemnatory. It emphasized the gravity of the crime, which separated a man from the grace of God; transgressors were indifferent to God's wrath and were considered to be under the influence of the Devil. Their actions manifested complete abandonment to uncontrollable and insatiable sexual drives.¹⁹⁵ During the Chapter General of 1283, the Order had listed sodomy as a grave offence that was punishable by expulsion. In 1563, Grand Master la Valette established a commission to investigate the extent of sodomy within the Order and apprehend and punish those guilty of it. Wrongdoers were to undergo torture. The Teutonic Knights also listed sodomy as a crime that merited perpetual expulsion.¹⁹⁶ Concern with sodomy among the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Order was no doubt caused by the memory of the suppression of the Knights Templar by King Philip IV of France (1268–1314) in 1312. One of the main accusations against the Templars had been that of sodomy.¹⁹⁷ Medieval theological and political thought that severely condemned sodomy would have also informed the drawing up of anti-sodomy rules within the Order.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, the prominent case of the Grand Master of the Order of Montesa, who throughout the 1570s was investigated by the Valencian Inquisition on charges of sodomy, could not have failed to capture the attention of the Hospitallers.¹⁹⁹ Throughout Europe sodomy was punishable by death; public executions of sodomites were meant to instil terror and dissuade others from this sin.²⁰⁰ From the information that is available, it would appear that no Hospitaller was condemned to death because of sodomy, although torture was inflicted in the course of interrogation and those found guilty were expelled from the Order, publicly humiliated, incarcerated and made to row on the galleys. At the same time, forgiveness and rehabilitation within the Order were also possible, at least for those with the right connections.²⁰¹

Conclusion

When discussing the history of the body, this needs to be understood in terms of fine gradations that go beyond a genital-centred approach. Given the extensive levels of prostitution and the existence of half-hidden homoerotic relationships in Hospitaller Malta, the epithet of 'little Gomorrah' remains compelling; and yet, the dichotomies of religious–irreligious and chaste–unchaste behaviour are too rigid as categories within which to comprehend the Hospitallers' sexuality. A more empathetic appreciation of this complexity lies in the interstice where the body was caught between the vow of chastity and the pull of sex. A Hospitaller's body existed in a mutual relationship with its environment and all the others that inhabited it; over time these elements were liable to change. Thus, beards, hair, clothes, armour and weapons were added or subtracted in an ongoing process of redefinition characterized by tension between, on the one hand, the religious piety and sobriety required of their status, and on the other the flamboyance expected of their noble and chivalric rank. What was most constant in the depictions and descriptions of the Hospitallers was the wearing of the eight-pointed cross as the ultimate badge of religious, manly and military excellence. Even so, some Hospitallers sought to fashion their masculinity in an alternative manner, as was the case of the Drinking Glasses, where an alternative badge was devised.

In some instances, the body could actually serve as a medium of communication for some shared perceptions between a mutually hostile Christianity and Islam. Whether at sea or on land, the behaviour of individual Hospitallers was shaped by the ideal of a close, yet chaste male comradeship; in an all-male Order, one's masculinity had to be proven to one's peers first and foremost. The bachelorhood of the Hospitallers was a positive form of masculinity premised on religious knighthood, distinct from, rather than inferior to, the household-based model of manhood of husband and father. Chastity – whether it was upheld or ignored – was a core organising principle for the relations of Hospitallers with each other, and with other men and women. Though sex would seem to stand as the logical antithesis of chastity, a synthesis of the two was possible in Hospitaller terms; after all, chastity was made up of two elements, the repudiation of sex and the renunciation of marriage.²⁰² As regards sex with women, this was tacitly allowed, so long as those Hospitallers who indulged in it did not compromise their self-control; but this was difficult, for through love magic even a Hospitaller's mastery of himself could be undermined. The strength of will

and mind expected of Hospitallers was encapsulated in the retaining of chastity by the Order: it is telling that the official stance against marriage was almost identical to that against sodomy. Both acts separated their doers from God and were instances of devilish influence. Along with marriage and sodomy, it was feared that too much zeal with regards to bodily care could result in a rapid descent from the ideals of neatness and honesty to the curses of degeneracy and effeminacy. Taken together, all these factors highlight the delicacy and malleability of every Hospitaller's body, chastity and sexuality.

Chapter 5

Violence and Punishments

Then they [a group of twenty-five young rebel Italian knights] all went as a troop to the Palace of the Bishop, where they would have possibly attempted to carry out some excess, had the Grand Master not seen to it.

His Eminence [the Grand Master] having come to know of this, gave the responsibility to the lord Commander Tancredi his Maestro di Casa¹ and to the Commander Bovio Secretary of the Treasury of dispersing the said mutinous Knights to remedy that which could happen. So powerful were the words of these Excellent Lord Commanders and the examples they used of the destruction of the Templars which had occurred because of similar reasons, and of the punishments given by the most high Pontiffs in such plots that they convinced the said mutineers to abandon their premeditated excess.²

With these words, Inquisitor Giacinto Filiberto di Messerano (1698–1703) described to his superiors in Rome a tumult by some Italian Hospitallers in December 1699 over an offence caused by a priest against one of their brethren. The two Commanders sent by Grand Master Ramon Ramon Perellos y Roccaful to quell this uproar chose to rein in the rebels by admonishing them that if they were to avoid the fate of the Templars they had better renounce their intended violence. As military–religious knights, the Hospitallers would have immediately recognized the gravity of such words: facing the fate of the Templars would have meant imprisonment, torture, humiliation, suppression and execution.³ By using the Templar analogy, the elders of the Order may have been hoping to control violent behaviour among the Hospitallers to make such rowdiness a thing of the past, but within a few hours after dispersing, the insurgents were at it again.

In Hospitaller terms, violence was not always dysfunctional; as an institution, the Order was, in fact, premised on the fusion of religion and violence in the form of an incessant war against Islam. However, the lack of a clear

boundary between accepted and unauthorized violence created particular problems for the Order in its attempt to contain and direct the violence with which it and the nobility were associated. These challenges were met through regulations about carrying weapons, training for the young and the organisation of regular naval expeditions.⁴ But no matter how much the Order may have tried to control the behaviour of its members, violence was ubiquitous within the Order throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a situation that reflected the generally violent tenor of life throughout Europe and in particular among the nobility. Hospitaller violence was not limited to their stay in Malta, but was an integral part of wider European patterns, as is shown by evidence from France and Rome.⁵

The Templar reprimand of 1699 followed in the wake of a whole series of uprisings by Hospitallers, which varied in their magnitude, but which were all underlined by a combination of personal ambitions and collective grievances. The years – 1533, 1579, 1581, 1622, 1639, 1670, 1684, 1699 – mark some of the more notable of these tumults.⁶ The violence that characterized these outbursts represented a magnification of the daily violence that typified Hospitaller life. Fights, brawls, duels and rape – set against a backdrop of drunkenness and gambling – were the staple activities of many Hospitallers. These disruptive elements tended to peak during the boisterous days of carnival, a time for merry-making and the inversion of social conventions; in 1639 these elements combined with wider tensions within the Convent about the perceived influence of the Jesuits over the Grand Master and resulted in the violent expulsion of the Jesuits from Malta. Such deviance had its consequences and punishments could be extremely brutal. At the same time, the harshest of intentions was regularly mellowed, for the personal status, rank and connections of the Hospitallers tended to extricate miscreants from the full brunt of their punishment.

Knightly Brawls

Violence is a performative act, involving perpetrators, victims and, at times, witnesses. For the perpetrator, violence has certain practical and symbolic goals, while for the victim and the witness, violence brings disorder; hence, violence has certain culturally – and spatially – determined meanings.⁷ Hospitaller knights who hailed from the milieu of the European nobility would have been used to an environment pervaded by violence and related codes of honour and combat. Cultural historians have come to see violence in terms of a drama with particular connotations, rather than meaningless

acts.⁸ In this vein, noble violence was not a mindless behavioural pursuit, but a subtly regulated expression of social pre-eminence and manly honour.⁹ Across Europe and among all social ranks, violence was endemic; for men, in particular, it was an important means through which one's masculinity was recognized by significant others.¹⁰ Violent masculinity was characterized by an element of competitiveness and as the Hospitallers vied among themselves and with others, they appropriated spaces by making them arenas where aggressive manliness could be played out.¹¹ The paradoxical aspect of this male drive for assertion through violence was that it disrupted and threatened the patriarchal arrangements of society that were meant to guarantee male prerogatives in the first place.¹² It is clear that the rank and file of the Order, including aspiring adolescent pages and novices, habitually carried weapons that were used in fights and duels. The list of violent incidents involving Hospitallers is extensive: the drawing of weapons during meetings, knocking out of teeth, stabbings, insults and rapes.¹³ Many Hospitaller pastimes also involved an element of violence: in December 1611, a number of French knights placed a wager – the prize being a pair of silk stockings – on whether one of them would be able to shoot a dog that had been immobilized against a tree. One knight fired at the dog, hit it, but failed to wound it. The reason for this extraordinary occurrence witnessed by many Hospitallers was considered to be that the Knight La Fretè had used Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim's *De occulta philosophia libri tres* (c. 1533) to cast a spell over the dog, making it immune to bullet shots.¹⁴

The daily companionship of the young was with other adolescents, with whom one competed for the favour of high-status adults.¹⁵ Violence and fighting were an integral – though not condoned – aspect of the modes of masculine expression within knighthood. Knightly brawls were generally underlined by questions of honour and challenges to one's reputation. In such conflicts, perceptions about national identity, rank and gender intertwined. These undertones characterized the regular conflicts between the Hospitallers and the officers and servants of the Inquisitor and the Bishop. Speeches or actions directed against these amounted to 19 per cent of the accusations brought against Hospitallers at the Inquisition Tribunal; along with heresy this was the highest figure (Table 3.2). In 1586, an officer of the Inquisition, Jo Pasquale de Franchi, stated how while he was spending the night with a prostitute, a group of knights armed with swords and daggers burst into the house and arrested him. He protested that as an Inquisition official he had immunity, but they disregarded his protests and carried him to a prison cell in Valletta.¹⁶ In 1601, a familiar of

the Inquisition, Thomaso de Nicastro Spatari ended up having to rebuff a Spanish Hospitaller who attacked him with a stick and sword in his shop. Spatari was wounded in the hand but, with the help of his neighbours, managed to repulse the attack.¹⁷ Another Inquisition officer, Don Paolo Testaferrata, had his house broken into by the Italian Knight Frà Geronimo Geri who wanted Testeferrata to lodge two of his soldiers or else provide him with a mattress.¹⁸

The 1699 commotion, which Commanders Tancredi and Bovio tried to stop by using the Templar analogy, had also started because of an issue of honour between a Hospitaller and a priest (who was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop). The trouble started when Frà Antenori came across the priest Francesco Reveri, who owed the knight some money. The knight felt that the priest had tarnished his honour because he refused to pay him back according to their pact. Frà Antenori started beating up the priest with his walking stick; when the priest managed to wrench the stick away, the knight drew out his sword. At this point, the Captain of the Guards of the Bishop came upon them and managed to divide the two men, who went their separate ways; Father Reveri kept the walking stick. Upon hearing about this, the Italian knights felt offended, for the walking stick was like a war trophy. Thus, a group of 25 knights hatched the idea of attacking the Bishop's Palace, where Father Reveri was hiding, to claim back the stick.¹⁹ Though the two senior Commanders had hoped that their words had dissuaded the rebel Hospitallers from taking any further action, they were to be gravely disappointed. Inquisitor di Messerano wrote: 'The following morning a Placard was found in public through which the Maltese of any condition, sex, and age were admonished to show respect towards the Lord Knights unless they wanted to be torn to pieces.'²⁰ The unrest continued until Grand Master Perellos showed himself prepared to crush the revolt by force.²¹

These cases highlight a number of issues that recurred throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Weapons were key elements for every Hospitaller's masculine identity because they were fundamental to their image as warriors. Moreover, the appropriation of the streets and of night-time, and the violation of private properties, extended the space that was gendered male by the Hospitallers' violent actions. Very often, the key issue at stake was the Hospitallers' resentment of ecclesiastical immunity, and their regular violation of it. The Hospitallers took exception to the fact that, whereas the Inquisitor could prosecute them, his people were immune from the jurisdiction of the Grand Master. Thus, any instance where Hospitallers and Inquisitorial/Episcopal officers met generally led

to some offence being perpetrated by the two sides, which often escalated into full-blown clashes that ended in front of the Pope in Rome.²² What Hospitallers found most irksome about such officers was that they exercised power over them despite their social inferiority. The attitude of such lesser men (most of whom were Maltese) was felt to be detrimental to the honour and credit of the Hospitallers, who believed that they could not submit to it. This situation had a close parallel in Venice, where minor police officials who tried to regulate noble behaviour ended up being the victims of noble violence.²³ Hospitallers and Venetian noblemen hit back in a violent manner to reassert their superiority and to punish the perceived insolence of these lowly officials.

Among the Hospitallers, the upholding of honour, reputation and manly status in the face of affronts generally took the form of a duel, a type of violence that was a prerogative of the nobility and a key test of masculinity.²⁴ Duelling was widespread among novices, newly ordained and older Hospitallers.²⁵ When visiting Malta in the late eighteenth century, Patrick Brydone noted that duelling was lawful but highly regulated. Brydone was mistaken in his impression that duelling was permissible; this had long been considered a most serious crime within the Order and heavy penalties were envisaged for those who partook in it, including expulsion from the Order.²⁶ The Order also followed the lead of the Council of Trent, which in 1563 warned that duels led to the destruction of both body and soul; anyone who was even remotely involved in a duel incurred excommunication and other punishments.²⁷ What Brydone's observations attest to is that, even as the eighteenth century drew to a close, duelling was still common among Hospitallers in Malta and, by extension, among the European elites, in general.²⁸

One way to try and limit duels was to demand that all portable weapons, be they pistols or daggers, were to be handed over to the Captain of the Artillery for safekeeping. It was particularly emphasized that firearms were diabolical and that anyone who kept such weapons without a license would be liable to a range of punishments, from loss of seniority to the loss of the habit.²⁹ There was a particular concern that no weapons were to be introduced into the *auberges*, something that the Jesuits also sought to do in their own colleges.³⁰ Another way was to try and limit the spatial spread of duels; duelling was a ritualized form of violence that was 'localized' in the sense of having areas that were associated with it. For instance, the area just outside Valletta's gate and its bastions seem to have been habitual sites for duels.³¹ Duels occurred on the edges of Valletta not because these areas were beyond the jurisdiction of the Order, but rather because this

constituted a further appropriation of public spaces by the Hospitallers through vindictory violence.

Two historians of the Order, Bosio and Vertot, recorded in detail how in 1533, a duel fought between an Italian gentleman (not a Hospitaller) and a French knight, in which the Frenchman was killed, led to a short but ferocious feud within the Order. The Italian gentleman had been part of the extensive entourage of the prominent Frà Bernardo Salviati, General of the Galleys and nephew of the reigning Pope Clement VII. The murdered French knight's uncle, the Commander Servier, together with his relatives and friends, sought revenge. Tensions escalated and erupted in a full-blown armed conflict that pitted the three French *langues* against the Italian and Spanish *langues* in Birgu, in which much blood was spilled.³² Bosio and Vertot included this episode in their histories to set it as an example for later Hospitallers of the dangers of duelling and its potential to play upon pent-up tensions and vices that resulted from the effect that rank, clientalism, nationality and international politics had on the Order's existence.

The insistence on noble honour led to the existence of an aristocratic form of justice that was not under the control of the prince, although the authorities were constantly striving to rein it in.³³ Violence, as expressed through the duel, served to bolster noble masculinity through a competitive ethos that demanded one man prevailing completely over another, although there was always the possibility that an outcome be contested. In France, the duel was particularly widespread, while in Italy, Renaissance humanists dedicated much time and effort to outlining a science of chivalry that was the sole prerogative of gentlemen.³⁴ The Hospitallers imbibed such values because they were natural to the kind of environment from which they hailed. In 1648, the Inquisitor received a report that the Sicilian Frà Carlo Fisani was in possession of a prohibited text on duelling, written by a Neapolitan author.³⁵ This is very likely to have been Girolamo Muzio's (1496–1576) influential *Il Duello* (Venice, 1550). Although Muzio disapproved of duelling in itself, he realized that it was inextinguishable. He emphasized its gentlemanly dimension as part of the quest for honour.³⁶ Muzio's influence may be seen in a duel that occurred in 1611 between Frà Henri de Lancry de Bains, nephew of Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt, and Frà Francesco dell'Antella, Italian Secretary to the same Grand Master. Frà de Bains verbally abused Frà dell'Antella and accused him of swaying his uncle the Grand Master against him. Frà dell'Antella tried to back off, but a duel was inevitable, which led to Frà de Bains being killed. The Italian Secretary told the Grand Master he would go into exile as a punishment, but Wignacourt bid him stay and even awarded him a rich commandery.³⁷

In a contest that was concerned with personal credit, Frà dell'Antella had acted honourably, so that Wignacourt had to do the same. Thus, a duel entered into in the proper manner ensured that a Hospitaller could foster and defend his public image and social standing.

The duel was seen to be a form of violence that was controlled and rational. In this way, a link was forged between violence, self-control and mastery over the senses. Any attempt on the part of the Order to regulate duelling was inherently contradictory: this was because the Grand Master and his Council were part of the same combative culture that required that honour be safeguarded through any means, while at the same time they needed to ensure that the social fabric of the Order and in Malta was not ruptured by violence. In effect the line between a duel and other forms of violence was a hazy one and much Hospitaller violence occurred outside any formal parameters designated by duel practice and regularly descended into blood-baths and chaos.³⁸ It often took place in settings characterized by the consumption of food, drink and gambling, where the senses were numbed and behaviour deemed unmanly. Frà Castiglione told the Hospitallers:

When eating and drinking you will always be honest and sober, [and] just as stupor and drunkenness are the ruin of human minds and bodies, so are sobriety, frugality, and temperance [good for the] health . . . You will ordinarily consume foods that are fat and rustic, rather than delicate and exquisite;³⁹

Throughout Frà Castiglione's book, there was a running concern with avoiding luxury – be it in clothes or in meals – as this was prone to lead to a decline of men into degeneracy and effeminacy. He was anxious that overindulgence of delicate and exquisite foods and drinks would bewilder the senses. On the other hand, the consumption of simple and hearty foods would fortify a man's physique and mental alertness. This idea was related to a medieval understanding that a voracious appetite was an outward display of knighthood.⁴⁰ While still in the Holy Land, rules on communal eating, fasting and what types of food were to be consumed were developed, but from early on there is evidence that meal times proved to be occasions for rowdiness.⁴¹ For the Hospitallers there was a strong link between eating arrangements and rank. Many had their meals in common at the *auberges*, but the more senior and powerful members could distinguish themselves by having their meals in their own palaces.

Whether at the *auberge* or in a private residence, the consumption of food and drink, as well as gambling, were carried out in a group setting

characterized by conviviality and companionship. This group element is significant because disruptive masculine behaviour that challenged and tested societal boundaries tended to occur within these group settings. Excessive drinking, whether as part of a meal or on its own, coupled with the dynamics of an all-male group pushed the boundaries of acceptable social behaviour into hot-headed debauchery.⁴² This happened to the Count of Alvernia (a knight), who became drunk during a lunch he was hosting and decided to expose himself to his guests. The prostitute Maria, who was present, was shocked by his behaviour and exclaimed 'Jesus[!] Mary[!]'. At these words the Count admonished her not to blaspheme, for that was more offensive to God than were his testicles.⁴³ Drinking created levels of conviviality and comradeship among men that the moralists and the authorities feared had the potential to cause disruption.⁴⁴ The Inquisition records reveal that while eating and drinking in groups, Hospitallers discussed the merits of different religions, the validity of canonization processes, sorcery, and beliefs in giants and other fantastical creatures, all of which were condemned by the Church.⁴⁵ Such dinners and feasts went against Frà Castiglione's injunction that the Hospitallers should flee them because they were occasions for sins.

Frà Castiglione believed that dinner parties rarely happened without being accompanied by scandals, suspicions, sins and inconveniences that could lead to great fortune as well as great peril.⁴⁶ Excessive drinking easily led to the utterance of blasphemies, such as when in 1628, a drunk Frà Sciampigni called the Virgin Mary a whore.⁴⁷ Similarly, excessive eating led to infringements of abstinence, as in the case of Frà Guiciardini, who ate meat during Lent of 1639 and force-fed his servant at the point of a dagger.⁴⁸ Furthermore, in 1579 and in 1670, the Italian knights revolted in protest against the food arrangements within their own *auberge*, a similar event happened in the German *auberge* during the reign of Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt when the knights demanded to have more wine.⁴⁹ Control over food was a fundamental marker of authority and any attempted breach of this control was seen as a serious affront. These food revolts challenged the authority of the *Piliers* of the *langues* who were responsible for the distribution of food. Likewise, in 1603, a minor disturbance occurred in Mdina between its Governor, Frà Ramiro della Quevas, and two Observant Franciscan friars. At the time, there was a serious threat of an Ottoman invasion, so grain was deposited in Mdina for safekeeping. The friars attempted to take some grain out of the city for their convent without the permission of the Governor and a skirmish occurred between the friars and the city's guards. The friars argued that they had the right to extract

grain without permission, but Frà Quevas replied that no monks, friars and not even the Pope were to take any grain out of Mdina without his consent.⁵⁰ Hence, issues of ecclesiastical immunity got mixed up with questions of power and personal standing in the community: Frà Quevas simply could not ignore the perceived insolence of the friars because an affront against the guards was like an insult on himself and the Grand Master.

For noblemen, gambling was an important aspect of their identity as a social estate because it indicated their commitment to certain values (in particular, self-restraint, fair conduct and etiquette) and it had an impact on their credit and standing.⁵¹ Such observations are applicable to the Hospitallers. At the same time, games were very important as a means to pass the time between actions when at sea on board the galleys.⁵² Though gambling offered relaxation away from the rigours of daily life, it could also lead to a slackening of rationality and, therefore, a descent into irreligious and excessive behaviour.⁵³ Gambling was almost invariably accompanied by profuse blaspheming, which the Inquisition was duty-bound to investigate. Profane words uttered during games of chance – with dice or cards – were directed at the perceived operations of fortune and providence.⁵⁴ This represented a form of verbal violence directed against God. Such behaviour was explained as being a lack of self-control triggered by anger in the face of losses, which, in turn, debased a man. Forgiveness from God needed to be sought to rehabilitate one's manliness.⁵⁵ Frà Castiglione advised Hospitallers to steer clear of games of chance for these led to anger, hatred, theft, blasphemy, homicides and many other evils that can only ruin a man.⁵⁶ Even so, during the seventeenth century, the Order as the government of Malta actually set up a system of licensed gambling outlets called *ridotti*. These served as spaces where officially controlled gambling could take place and were primarily frequented by the lower classes and the transient population of travellers going through the Maltese harbours.⁵⁷

In common with Venice, the Inquisition in Malta investigated cases where magic was allegedly used to manipulate games of chance.⁵⁸ The Spanish knight Frà Gaspar d'Aldarete had a handkerchief filled with herbs placed by a friend near an altar for nine consecutive Masses so that these herbs would gain the power to make him successful in love and in gambling. As punishment, the Inquisitor ordered him to abjure in public, confess and receive Holy Communion four times a year.⁵⁹ In January 1660, three Hospitallers were summoned to appear before the Inquisitor because of a macabre procedure they had utilized in relation to gambling. Frà Francesco Pichet, Frà Justus de Fay Girlando and Frà Cesare de Monberton,

all three French, had dug up the corpse of a person who had been hanged, took a piece of the rope from around his neck and had three Masses celebrated on the rope. After that, each one of them took a piece of the rope and kept it with him during gambling. The Inquisitor condemned them to abjure in public, recite the rosary every Saturday for four years, and confess and receive Holy Communion four times a year for four years.⁶⁰ In gambling magic as in other incantations, Muslim slaves were considered to have a profound and effective knowledge of the occult.⁶¹ Devils and evil spirits were also seen to play a particularly prominent role in determining the swerving of fortune in games of chance. In 1607, the Castilian knight Frà Antonio Guijon lost the sum of 1,500 *scudi* while playing dice with the French knight Frà La Lea. Suspecting the Frenchman of having used magic to cheat him, Frà Guijon sought out the Maltese Frà Vittorio Cassar, who was renown for his ability to discover the truth.⁶² Cassar took him to a young girl who had a vision in which she told Frà Guijon that Frà La Lea carried a ring on the little finger of his right hand in which was held a demon that made him win at games. Having discovered this trick, Frà Guijon invited Frà La Lea to join him for a boat ride, during which they had an argument and a fight about how La Lea was using a diabolical art to win at gambling.⁶³ La Lea's actions constituted a breach of the value of fair conduct and Guijon chose to react through violence to redress the grievance against him.

Around 1590, a Hospitaller who was concerned with the state of the Order wrote to the Pope, informing him how the Grand Master summoned the knights to play cards and dice with him on feast days and during Lent, instead of attending to their religious obligations. Furthermore, during these games, huge sums of money were lost, and whereas common people who were caught gambling were severely punished, the Grand Master and his friends did as they pleased.⁶⁴ This case, together with many others, reveals the collective and convivial nature of games of chance, which reinforced the bonds between those who played, as much as it weakened them when fights broke out. Throughout the early modern period, important Hospitallers and private individuals opened their homes to other Hospitallers and people who wanted to gamble. Thus, private residences became places of entertainment that served to reinforce hierarchical relationships within the Order where older, more senior and richer men patronized younger/junior ones. Three prominent examples include the Bailiff of Pavia Frà Francesco Lanfreducci Sr, the Custodian of the Arsenal Frà Bagliano and the Bailiff de Coumons, to whose houses many Hospitallers went to gamble.⁶⁵ Private citizens with close relationships with the Order also provided entertainment for the Hospitallers in their homes.⁶⁶ Alongside

such private entertainment, from the second half of the seventeenth century, more public spaces for gambling emerged. In 1650, in the notorious *strada stretta* (strait street), there was a house of public games that was avidly frequented by Hospitallers.⁶⁷ Some enterprising individuals set up taverns where Hospitallers could play and throw their fortunes to the wind.⁶⁸ By the early eighteenth century, a place in Valletta called the *Forfantone* served as an aristocratic leisure and gambling centre for the Hospitallers.⁶⁹ Therefore, changes in gambling manners and culture in Malta form a close parallel to the situation in Venice, where over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, gambling changed from a private occurrence to a wider participatory activity.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the hierarchical undertone of gambling proceedings did not change, and neither did its propensity to lead to violent outbursts, both verbal and physical.

The Carnival of 1639

In August 1639, Inquisitor Gori-Pannellini sent a letter in cipher to Rome in which he complained of 'the ease with which the Knights revolt'.⁷¹ An underlying fear that at any moment there could be a huge eruption of violence among the Hospitallers pervaded the whole of the seventeenth century. In 1684, Grand Master Gregorio Carafa (1680–1690) advised the Bishop to leave Malta for fear that 'some great disorder' was being hatched against him and his officers.⁷² Such fears and precautions were justified in the light of the violent events of 1581 (in which the Grand Master was deposed from power) and the Carnival of 1639 (in which the Jesuits were expelled from Malta). As discussed in Chapter 3, Jesuit spirituality became pervasive among the Hospitallers, but this was also accompanied by political influence. On 12 June 1636, Frà Jean Paul de Lascaris Castellar, a French knight from the *Langue* of Provence and member of the Jesuit *Camerata*, was elected Grand Master; two of his closest confidants were his Jesuit confessor, the Maltese Father Giacomo Cassia and the Sicilian Rector of the *Collegium Melitense* Father Giorgio Tagliavia. Inquisitor Fabio Chigi cooperated closely with these two Jesuits to secure a re-organisation of the personnel at the Magistral Palace, leading to most of the previous Grand Master's close friends leaving Malta.⁷³ As happened elsewhere, Jesuits in Malta accepted the Inquisition as part of the Catholic apparatus in place; their involvement with this tribunal culminated in the career of Father Sebastiano Salelles, who for at least 54 years (c. 1605–c. 1659) acted as first counsellor and censor within the Holy Office, serving under 18 Inquisitors.⁷⁴ By becoming

embroiled with the Inquisition – an institution that was far from popular with the Hospitallers – the Jesuits became unpopular, by association. These developments, coupled with strong anti-Jesuit intellectual currents prevailing in Europe (particularly in France) that believed Jesuit confessors controlled princes through casuistry and meddling with politics, put many Hospitallers on edge. Tensions climaxed during the Carnival of 1639, when a violent riot broke out against new regulations restricting many ludic aspects of Carnival; these constraints were believed to have been dictated by the Jesuits.⁷⁵

The early modern European Carnival was a violent event characterized by role reversals; there was always the potential for matters to get out of hand and for a revolt to ensue. The anonymous *Discorso contro il Carnevale* (Venice, 1607) described Carnival as a monstrous occasion during which self-control was lost and the values of order, restraint, prudence and sobriety undermined.⁷⁶ Carnival even had its own patterns of consumption, when retailers were expected to provide the masks, fanciful costumes, foods and sweets associated with it.⁷⁷ For the authorities, masking constituted a particularly troublesome aspect of Carnival, because of the way it made everyone a stranger and disguised social and gender differences.⁷⁸ Despite its potential for turning the world upside-down, the violence that accompanied Carnival could also serve as rituals for the affirmation of masculinity.⁷⁹ Reformers in both Protestant and Catholic areas attacked many features of Carnival in their drive for social discipline. In France and Italy, the Jesuits were at the head of such movements in their attempts at rationalising and sanctifying Carnival and other forms of popular expression. Nevertheless, even among the elite, there was a disjunction between discipline and Carnival, as was forcefully shown by the Malta Carnival of 1639.⁸⁰

Carnival was a time of merriment and the testing of social boundaries, particularly by the young. Carnival represented popular, uneducated and unrefined culture, which stood in contrast to Lent, a time defined by the decency and self-control associated with the elites.⁸¹ In Malta, this divide between elite and popular did not apply; instead, the Hospitallers – the cream of the elite – participated and set the tone for carnivalesque outrages. Carnival was a time of spectacle and colour, which the Hospitallers – both on a personal and at a corporate level – supported financially and by taking active part in it. This was accompanied by myriad theatrical productions, most of which were organized, patronized or supported by the Italian *langue*.⁸² Such representations were part of an elaborate language of public performances that characterized the whole calendar, which were meant to convey the power and splendour of the Order.⁸³ Pious Grand Masters tried

to regulate the excesses of Carnival. As early as the reign of Grand Master Piero del Ponte (1534–1535), the Hospitallers were instructed not to engage in masquerades; rather they were encouraged to participate in jousts and tournaments, which he considered to be more decorous for knights of Christ.⁸⁴ From 1598, with the encouragement of Grand Master Martin Garzes (1595–1601), the Jesuits introduced the Forty Hours' Devotion as an act of expiation for the sins committed during Carnival. The Grand Master also prohibited certain other games that were considered to be offensive to God.⁸⁵

On Saturday 5 March 1639, Grand Master Lascaris tried to push such restrictions further by issuing an edict forbidding women from wearing masks during the last days of Carnival, and generally curtailing the presence of women at all Carnival festivities.⁸⁶ Those who disobeyed these commands were to be whipped. These injunctions left 'both young and old' knights, as well as the 'artists' very disgruntled. On the morrow, Sunday 6 March, those young knights who were preparing the customary comedy that took place in the Magistral Palace beseeched the Grand Master to allow women to attend the event. When Lascaris denied them this, the young knights turned to the most senior members of the Order, the Grand Crosses, to intercede on their behalf. The Grand Crosses went to Lascaris, who told them he would only acquiesce if his confessor, the Jesuit Father Cassia, told him he could do so without compromising his soul. Turning to Father Cassia, the Grand Crosses were told that Lascaris could not allow the presence of women at the comedy, at which reply the Grand Crosses left in disdain and the comedy was called off. On Monday 7 March, a young Italian knight, Frà Girolamo Salvatico, dressed up as a Jesuit and went around with a placard attached to his back in which the Rector of the Jesuit College, Father Tagliavia and Father Cassia were mocked. Lascaris had Frà Salvatico arrested, which led to a rapid escalation of tensions. On the morning of Tuesday 8 March, a loud crowd of knights gathered in front of the Magistral Palace.⁸⁷ According to dal Pozzo, these started shouting, 'Out with the bereted one', meaning down with the Grand Master, the beret being associated with this office.⁸⁸

Many young Italian knights then went to the *auberges* of the French and the Spanish and urged their brethren to join their protest, which many eagerly did. A menacing crowd now formed and clamoured against the Jesuits for having had Frà Salvatico arrested. These inflamed spirits raced towards the Jesuits' College (which stood but a few metres from the Magistral Palace) and declared they would not move from there until the Jesuits had secured the release of their brother. The knights knocked

heavily at the doors of the College, and seeing that no one came to the door, they burst into the College. The terrified Jesuits locked themselves inside their church and exposed the Blessed Sacrament to protect them. The knights scavenged around the rooms of the College and finding nothing except for the tables in the refectory laid out for lunch, they started throwing food out of the windows to the mass of people in the street below which by now had gathered, drawn by the commotion. The knights wanted the people 'to make Carnival at the expense of the Jesuits'. After this, the knights went through the rest of the rooms in the College, including that of the Rector, ransacking, destroying and throwing out of the windows all they found: sweets, perfumes, money, books and so on. 'The playful spirit of Carnival' now intoxicated everyone. Descending into the cellars of the College, the knights found many exquisite wines, which they drank and they cheered one another, breaking everything else. As the tumult increased, the Jesuits felt they were no longer safe in the church and sought out hiding places in the remotest parts of the College.

As soon as Lascaris heard about this upheaval, he instructed the Order's Marshall to quell this 'youthful furore'; however, upon turning up with his rod of justice, the Marshall was arrogantly told off by the rebels, who insisted that Frà Salvatico had to be released and the Jesuits expelled from Malta. If not, they would burn down the College with the Jesuits inside it. Two elderly and senior Hospitallers, the Italian Prior Gattinara and the French Bailiff Valençay, realising that things would soon be completely out of control, stepped in as negotiators between the Grand Master and the insurgents. The Grand Master was persuaded to release Frà Salvatico and he ordered the Jesuits to depart. Prior Gattinara and Bailiff Valençay took the Jesuits under their protection to prevent any physical harm to them. The Jesuits now emerged from their holes – the Rector, Father Tagliavia, having hid himself in a cistern – and were escorted to a frigate that had been prepared for them. The Rector and Father Cassia looked particularly dejected as they reflected on how quickly they had fallen from their stations: from being revered in the morning having their hands kissed by the knights, to exiles in the afternoon. The young knights and the Maltese people were exceedingly happy at seeing the Jesuits depart. Although the original quarrel had been with the Rector and the Grand Master's confessor – who were believed to be 'managing the Grand Master' – rather than the Society of Jesus as a whole, 'youthful furore has neither law, nor respect for anyone'. Four Jesuits were, however, allowed to stay on. These were the Spanish Jesuit Father Sebastiano Salelles, 'who for many years

had lived on the island surrounded with a fame for sanctity, and away from the Machinations', a German Jesuit called Father Theodoric Bech who was the confessor of the German knight Prince Friedrich von Hessen, and two Maltese Jesuits who happened to be eating with their relatives on that morning.⁸⁹

Most of the above account is based on an anonymous description found at the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome, which is considered to be the most detailed and vivid narrative there is.⁹⁰ From the author's vibrant language, it seems that he was present during the riot and he may even have been involved in it. Another document found at the Biblioteca Angelica is a short letter from a Giovanni Battista Compagnoni to his brother Adriano in Macerata, which the said Giovanni aptly entitled 'Jesuits thrashed and sent away from the Island of Malta to Sicily'. The letter was dated 8 March 1639. According to this, the 'insolence of the Jesuits' had reached such a peak that the knights of every nation were 'forced' to do something about it. In contrast to the previous account, Compagnoni stated that the Jesuits had, in fact, been physically attacked, a detail that was not confirmed elsewhere.⁹¹

This anti-Jesuit riot, which happened in the midst of Carnival, had its own ludic or carnivalesque aspects: Frà Salvatico dressing up as a Jesuit, the way the knights tossed things out of the College's windows and their getting drunk on the Jesuits' wine. The elements identified in the *Discorso contro il carnevale* as being malevolent – masks, balls, dressing up, theatre and women – were all present during the Carnival of 1639. Significantly, just as the 1581 uprising against Grand Master la Cassière had been sparked by his edict against the prostitutes of Valletta, so the spark that set the keg alight in 1639 was Grand Master Lascaris' restrictions on women. In both cases, the attempt by the Grand Masters to discipline the Hospitallers in an indirect manner by disciplining women instead backfired with grave consequences. For many Hospitallers, their vow of chastity did not translate into an undertaking to lead lives separate from women. During this uprising, there was an element of conflict between the young and the old; Lascaris' instruction to his Marshall was in fact to suppress the 'youthful furore'; however, as much of the account makes clear, many senior Hospitallers shared the misgivings of the young about the Jesuits' influence over the Grand Master and the causes of the riot ran deeper. As discussed above, the Jesuits' association with the Inquisition made them unpopular among the Hospitallers. There was also a widespread perception that Father Cassia had swayed the Grand Master against allowing women to attend

the theatrical performances, and that Father Tagliavia could influence appointments to important positions: the rapid promotion of Prince Friedrich von Hessen to the post of Captain General of the Galleys was widely attributed to Father Tagliavia's intervention with Lascaris.⁹² There was much discontent within the Order at how Jesuits in Malta and Rome – in particular the General of the Society Father Muzio Vitelleschi – were trying to manipulate the Order from a distance to get their favourites accepted and promoted within the Order.⁹³ Furthermore, the expulsion of the Jesuits from Malta reflected similar events across Europe. Between 1594 and 1603, the Jesuits were expelled from much of France on the instigation of the *parlement* of Paris. Other expulsions included Antwerp (1578), Venice (1606), Bohemia (1618), Hungary (1619), Naples and the Southern Netherlands (1622), and Russia (1676).⁹⁴ Thus, the Malta eviction fitted into a 'pattern' in which sectors of the elite in a particular place who enjoyed a momentary ascendancy over every one else targeted the Jesuits as their enemies.

That this violent uprising happened in the midst of Carnival carries its own significance. In his letters – many of which were written in cipher – Inquisitor Fabio Chigi emphasized that the disturbing spirit of Carnival was to blame for much of what had happened and that the revolt had been the work of the Devil.⁹⁵ Carnival was a time for fun, mischief and the subversion of customary social conventions. It also provided an outlet for the expression of communal grievances and concerns, particularly through the inversion of daily routines.⁹⁶ In this case, the mock procession of the Jesuits – watched according to Chigi by some 3,000 people – to the frigate that was going to take them into exile, reversed the sense of reverence that had been shown to them that same morning when the knights had kissed their hands.⁹⁷ The rites of verbal and physical violence directed against the Society of Jesus brought about a resolution to the grievances of the Hospitallers. Through this act of collective carnivalesque violence, the rioting Hospitallers managed to have Frà Salvatico released from prison, the Jesuits exiled (temporarily) from Malta and the restrictions on women's participation in Carnival shelved.⁹⁸ An indirect casualty of these events was the Jesuit *Camerata*, which stopped functioning. It is quite likely that since the *Camerata* offered an alternative to the communal life of the national *auberges*, it was perceived by some as representing a threat to the Order's way of life.⁹⁹ Naturally, when such violent outbreaks occur, situations can easily spiral out of control. Chigi reported how many armed Aragonese and Castilian knights had offered to quell the riot for the Grand Master: most of

the participants were French and Italian. Lascaris, however, refused this offer to avoid a fratricidal blood bath.¹⁰⁰

With the commencement of Lent, calm returned to the Convent. On 14 March 1639, Lascaris wrote to Cardinal Barberini to tell him how four senior knights – representing Italy, France, Provence and Auvergne – had been chosen as representatives of the rebels. These had declared the sorrow of the insurgents for their actions, asked for clemency from the Pope and declared their respect of those Jesuits that were still in Malta.¹⁰¹ The Pope granted a pardon, though this was accompanied by a stern admonition from Barberini to the knights to start leading a more religious and pious life and to show the respect that was due to religious persons.¹⁰² The rebels were also ordered to pay for the forging of a silver lamp worth at least 50 *scudi* to be presented to the Jesuits' Church as a sign of their penance and atonement for their insolence.¹⁰³ Nonetheless, not all of the rebels were sincere in their acts of contrition; in June 1639, Isabella Pertinotta reported the Italian Frà Raffaele Tornaquinci to the Inquisitor. She said that when she had asked Tornaquinci how he and the other knights had not feared the wrath of God when they attacked the Jesuits, he replied that since that there was no heaven or hell there had been nothing to fear from attacking the Jesuits.¹⁰⁴

Punishments

Hospitaller deviance, particularly when it aggressively shook hierarchal authority and public peace, carried certain consequences for those involved. Punishments were meant to establish hierarchies of age, reinforce patriarchal codes and shame alternative forms of manhood.¹⁰⁵ Admittedly, in the case of the Hospitallers, there was often a chasm between the punishments that were contemplated and those that were actually meted out. A predecessor of Inquisitor Fabio Chigi wrote a short report – some time between 1623 and 1636 – that contained many observations about the Hospitallers. His advice was that prudence had to be paramount for an Inquisitor when dealing with the knights because he had to remember many significant factors, including their untainted nobility, the various nationalities present and the ease with which they revolted. Any action against the knights had to be weighed against the light punishments they received and the rapidity with which these were forgiven.¹⁰⁶ Their status as elites in a highly stratified society and the patronage networks to which they belonged could protect

them from almost anything, a situation that reflected the wider European situation.¹⁰⁷

Throughout the Order's history, there was a persistent desire for a return to the original – if largely mythical – discipline of the first Hospitallers; but the imposition of restraints was never easy. In 1206, Master Alphonso of Portugal resigned after his proposed statutes that would have restored primitive conventual discipline were rejected.¹⁰⁸ The Order's statutes, customs and judgements provided a graded list of faults and punishments, in a fashion similar to that of the Teutonic Knights.¹⁰⁹ Simple misdemeanours, like skipping Matins were punished by a diet of bread and water. More serious offences – like disobeying orders, drunkenness, disputes in the dormitory after Compline, striking a sergeant, going out without permission, missing the appointed hours of prayer and neglecting infirmary duties – were punished by the *septaine*. This entailed a punishment of seven days, during which a Hospitaller removed his mantle and was flogged while kneeling in front of an altar. He was also not to receive meat or wine during those seven days. For graver transgressions – that varied from persistent committing of minor offences to fights in which blood was shed – a Hospitaller received the *quarantaine*. This involved taking off the mantle, stripping to the waist and kneeling barefoot to receive a beating, while the *Miserere mei Deus* was said, followed by prayers. This was accompanied by dietary restrictions for 40 days and food was to be eaten on the ground rather than at a table: in 1595, such a punishment was meted out to the novice Joanne ac Prac who had attacked and wounded the keeper of the Grand Master's palace gardens.¹¹⁰ The greatest punishment was the loss of the habit, which could be both temporary and permanent. This would occur in instances where a Hospitaller killed a brother, committed fornication or sodomy, bore false witness, defected to the Moors or deserted the Order in battle. The loss of habit also meant the loss of ecclesiastical immunity and the possibility of receiving the death penalty at the hands of secular courts.¹¹¹

Nonetheless, in many cases, the link between the crime and the actual punishment was not as straightforward as the rules of the Order suggest. Involvement in violent brawls could earn one the *quarantaine*, as well as exile from Malta and a term of rowing on the galleys.¹¹² Outbursts of violence during assemblies could lead to incarceration, the loss of habit and the loss of seniority.¹¹³ The escalation of violence to the proportions of a full uprising like the one of December 1699 cost the five ringleaders a term of exile from Malta, while the rest were imprisoned for terms varying from six to 12 months.¹¹⁴ Even in such a grave situation, Grand Master Perellos had to tread carefully; against the fully professed knights, his wrath

was mitigated by their patrons in the Council, but against the novices who were completely dependent on him, he could act without restraint.¹¹⁵ Penalties for duelling or assisting a duel to take place included the loss of seniority, expulsion from the Order, imprisonment and the recitation of the rosary for a month.¹¹⁶ Those who committed murder were expelled from the Order and imprisoned.¹¹⁷

Echoing the prudence recommended in the report mentioned above, many Inquisitors acted carefully when dealing with the Hospitallers, taking a middle path between sternness and compassion. Thus, in the case of the Provençal Frà Joanne della Martia who had doubted many of the teachings of the Church, nearly become a Lutheran and read prohibited books, but who came to denounce himself, the Inquisitor ordered him to confess and receive Holy Communion four times a year, recite a number of prayers every day and while in Malta visit the Church of the Capuchins every Friday.¹¹⁸ For breaching the immunity of an Inquisition official, Frà Stephano Lebourgh was excommunicated and interdicted, but later liberated and absolved.¹¹⁹ Even for such serious felonies like actual or contemplated armed attacks and violent penetrations of the Palace of the Inquisition, miscreant Hospitallers could get away with an admonishment and confession and receiving Holy Communion four times a year for two years.¹²⁰ The leniency of punishments in the face of some very grave misdeeds reflected the ambivalence of early modern thinking about what constituted a crime, the way offences were ranked and the particular jurisdiction of a court of law or a disciplinary body within a religious institution.¹²¹ But it was also an issue of privilege: in many of these instances, the intervention of a prince, Pope, cardinal or senior knight on behalf of an accused Hospitaller led to punishments being commuted.

When a Hospitaller was punished, the process was elaborate and solemn, presenting a form of drama.¹²² During the seventeenth century, the Council would convene in the Oratory of the Beheading of St John inside the Conventual Church to deliberate and pass judgement on accused miscreants.¹²³ A bell was then rung to summon all Hospitallers to the Church to witness the punishment.¹²⁴ Thus, the chastisement was carried out in a manner that was both private and public. An impression of what such a proceeding looked like was preserved in an engraving from 1650 (Figure 5.1). It shows the Oratory as it was before a Baroque redecoration over the course of the 1680s, when it was still a largely plain room, except for Caravaggio's *The Beheading of St John the Baptist* at the back with Garagona's *Martyrs of St Elmo* above it. In this image, the accused can be seen kneeling with these two powerful and bloody scenes hovering above



FIGURE 5.1 Wolfgang Kilian, Engraving of the Oratory of St John, 1650, engraving, 12.5×7.5 cm. Osterhausen, *Eigentlicher und gründlicher*, insert (folded sheet) between 184 and 185. Acknowledgement: © National Library of Malta.

him and a pervading sense of doom fills the whole room. He kneels and holds his arms together as if in the act of praying, indicating his submission to the authority of the Council, his regret and his imploring for their forgiveness.¹²⁵ Across from him, the Grand Master or his lieutenant sits in judgement in a grand chair, indicating his power over the accused's life. They are surrounded by a host of excited Hospitallers who discuss



FIGURE 5.2 'On Discarding Brothers', 1588, engraving, 18×14 cm. *Statuta Hospitalis Hierusalem*, 90. Acknowledgement: © National Library of Malta.

among themselves the merits of the case. The whole setting was meant to overwhelm the accused and impress upon him the power of patriarchal authority. If the offence was serious enough to merit expulsion from the Order, an elaborate defrocking ceremony was organized. The image in Figure 5.2 shows two kneeling Hospitallers being stripped of their robes, while a multitude of other Hospitallers look on. The Holy Spirit hovers above the Grand Master, who from his throne presides over the ceremony, creating a pyramid-like structure, with the Grand Master on top and the two miscreants at the bottom. This image represents an inversion of the image in Figure 1.6, which depicted the reception of new

Hospitallers. Aspiring Hospitallers were transformed into new men by virtue of wearing the habit of the Order; through defrocking they were stripped of that same manhood. In this way they became 'separated from [the Order] like a decayed and fetid limb'.¹²⁶

Cast out from the Order, such ex-Hospitallers were advised by the motto at the top of Figure 5.2 to be 'mature in bitterness', even if they could now be liable to prosecution by lay tribunals that could condemn them to death.¹²⁷ Even at this stage, many managed to have themselves rehabilitated and readmitted into the Order, but those who failed to do so faced a particularly vicious form of capital punishment. Between 1533 and 1574, former Hospitallers condemned to death were sewn alive in weighted sacks and thrown into the sea to drown. This was the fate met by a number of ringleaders of the tumult of 1533.¹²⁸ The Chapter General of 1574 changed this practice by instructing that the condemned were first to be strangled and then their lifeless corpses placed in sacks and thrown into the sea.¹²⁹ The image that preceded the section on prohibitions and punishments in the statutes of Verdalle depicted precisely this lugubrious act (Figures 5.3a and b). In the middle of the image are two larger-than-life Hospitallers, one of whom has a rosary bead in his hand, possibly indicating that he was praying for the unfortunate that was being readied in the boat to be thrown over. At their feet, part of a box – resembling a coffin – protrudes into the frame, casting a shadow, contributing to the pervasive sense of doom that characterizes this image.

The detail in Figure 5.3b shows incarcerated Hospitallers looking out in anguish upon the man being thrown into the sea. It is unclear whether the man who is to be thrown overboard is dead or alive; the four dark boatmen stand in sharp contrast to the white figure in the sack, a possible indication that life had already been drained out of him, but by no means a clear indication that he was already dead. The choice of this image to illustrate the section on punishments was very telling. Grand Master Verdalle used it to remind his contemporaries how the rebels of 1533 had been punished and to be obedient. In the Latin phrase on top of the image it was in fact augured that 'punishments may be prevented through observance'.¹³⁰

The extremity of this chastisement completed the process of unmanning a former Hospitaller. A high-ranking nobleman was demeaned, first by being tried by people who were his social inferiors, and secondly by meeting his end through strangling rather than beheading (a 'privilege' enjoyed by the nobility).¹³¹ It was a downward spiral that broke a man's body and



FIGURE 5.3 (a) 'On Prohibitions and Punishments', 1588, engraving, 18×14 cm. *Statuta Hospitalis Hierusalem*, 180. (b) Detail from engraving in Figure 5.3(a). Acknowledgement: © National Library of Malta.

stripped him of his religious habit, his knighthood, his rank, his manliness and, ultimately, his life.

Conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been the pervasiveness of violence among the Hospitallers throughout the period c. 1580 to c. 1700, that is, the timeframe which, according to Norbert Elias, saw an irresistible civilizing process among the nobility.¹³² In the case of France, from which the majority of Hospitallers came, the nobility was not transformed from warriors into courtiers; rather, violence coexisted with courtliness over the course of a very gradual process through which the nobility was increasingly militarized but directed towards service of the crown.¹³³ The Hospitallers – many of whom served the kings of France – were affected by this same process. In Malta, the persistent levels of violence involving the Hospitallers attest to an environment free from any deterministic civilizing drives, where violence constituted an important marker of nobility in a republic of aristocrats (a situation closely paralleled by that in Venice).¹³⁴ The overall success – despite some notable setbacks such as 1639 – of the Order of Malta in containing and channelling violence is attested to most forcefully by the fact that it managed to avoid ‘the destruction of the Templars which had occurred because of similar reasons’.¹³⁵ It avoided this doom because it had its own nuanced vision of violence, discipline and civility; violence was divisive but it was also cohesive in an institution of noblemen who shared a group ethic, a common history, pride in membership and a common mission of fighting Islam.

Violence was a fundamental constitutive element of the Hospitallers’ masculine identity. They had to reckon with the competing claims of honour, reputation, nationality, rank and social standing. The most effective way to live up to such expectations was to prove one’s worth within a group composed of social peers or betters. In these settings, the prodigious consumption of food and drink, coupled with gambling and a certain audacity, helped to maintain or earn respect and recognition. Paradoxically, much of this behaviour challenged patriarchal prerogatives, disrupted social cohesion and, at times, threatened the very existence of the Order itself. Therefore, those who went to such extremes needed to be punished, but retribution was often ambivalent. As Inquisitor di Messerano observed in 1702, an insolent knight who had brandished a sword against his *Pilier* was punished by a *quarantaine*, six months in the *guva* (a deep hole in the

ground in which Hospitallers could be placed as a punishment) and five years in prison, but 'as usual, he will receive grace'.¹³⁶ The process and ceremonial of punishing a Hospitaller could be a grand and solemn event meant to set an example, but it could also be a discreet affair intended to reprimand an individual. The wider circumstances in which a crime was committed, the way it was perceived and the level of protection one had from high places, had an important impact on the level of severity that was contemplated and actually meted out.

Conclusion

Towards a Cultural History of the Order of Malta

*But the firmest bulwark of Jerusalem was founded on the knights of the Hospital of St. John, and of the temple of Solomon; . . . they neglected to live, but they were prepared to die, in the service of Christ.*¹

This eloquent summation of what the Hospitallers represented was formulated by Edward Gibbon towards the end of the eighteenth century and has become one of the most frequently quoted and accepted views about the Hospitallers.² However, since history is about studying people, unpredictable beings who make this discipline an investigation of angles and curves rather than linear developments, Gibbon's magisterial statement needs to be revisited. One of the main objectives of this study has been to elucidate the sheer variety of the life stories of Hospitallers. Whereas many Hospitallers did neglect to live 'in the service of Christ', many others strove in earnest to live up to their Hospitaller commitments by assisting the sick and the needy in a variety of ways, enthusiastically embracing Ignatian and other forms of renewed Catholic devotions and generally trying to lead a sober and dignified life. There was much in the lives of Hospitallers like Grand Master Lascaris, Frà Ambrogio Mariano and Frà Giovanni Caravita that would have met the high standards set out by Frà Sabba Castiglione's *Ricordi*. Conversely, while many Hospitallers did die 'in the service of Christ' all over the Mediterranean as part of their incessant struggle against Islam, various others died in duels and brawls fought for issues of honour – personal and communal – as well as because of drinking, gambling and women; Frà Castiglione would have been seriously dismayed at some characters. These experiences and the many interstices therein are what this study has sought to capture through an inter-disciplinary approach involving nobility, faith and masculinity. It is an intricate socio-cultural approach to a complex institution, the men who belonged to it, and the patterns of a past and evocative life.

In order to understand the meanings of being a Hospitaller in early modern times, it must be recognized that they inhabited an environment where religion, magic, violence and patriarchal ideals were at the heart of life. Related to this, certain elements such as Valletta's role as the 'Convent' (therefore the importance of space in forging a communal life and levels of conviviality), Islam, the sea, slavery, food, sex, the Inquisition and the involvement of the Papacy and other princes (in particular the kings of France) in the affairs of the Order, formed the broad setting within which the Order and the Hospitallers functioned. Most of the primary material relates to the Hospitallers' experiences in Malta; it is a tacit recognition of how place mattered considerably in establishing the identity and focus of the early modern Order and what local resources were at its disposal. Though not as rich and fertile as its former home of Rhodes, in Malta the Order had excellent harbours from which its navy could operate throughout the Mediterranean Sea. It was also able to capitalize on the island's link with St Paul as a cultural resource that lent the Order international prominence as the guardian of a holy place. Most Hospitallers spent at least part of their lives in Malta as novices, pages, junior and senior members, while even when afar, maps, books and images could be used as reminders of the 'Maltese dimension' of the Order. Thus, an inventory from 1580 shows that the Great Hall of the Commandery of Haarlem, in Holland, was adorned with a map of Malta; to quote another example, while serving as Governor of the island of St Christopher in the Caribbean in the mid-seventeenth century, the French Knight Frà Philippe de Lonvilliers de Poincy had a library which contained, among other things, books and images about Malta and the Order.³

The Hospitallers were regularly on the move: sailing on the Order's and other powers' vessels, administering the Order's commanderies across Europe, and serving as diplomats and officers for the Order and for their princes. In particular, the Papacy and France exerted a strong gravitational pull on individual Hospitallers as providers of career venues, while never ceasing to place demands on the Order as an institution. In the face of such pressures, and the challenges from the Reformation and Islam, the Order 'had a capacity for survival and thus a residual strength'.⁴ The Order was a non-familial organisation that socialized young boys into an exclusive religious, male and noble subculture. Within this setting, power was configured through the interactions of status, patriarchy, honour, credit, age, seniority and masculinity. In effect, an individual Hospitaller existed within a multiplicity of settings that overlapped in varying degrees throughout his life. Underpinning most of these experiences were the imperatives of patriarchy and the alternative behaviours Hospitallers brokered to assert

themselves. Hence, patriarchy was not just about the oppression of women by men within the family, it was also a core organising principle for relations among early modern men, where age was a particularly fundamental element in shaping relationships.

The masculinity of the Hospitallers was tied up with the workings of the nobility. It has long been shown how noble families managed the lives of their daughters – through marriage or the veil – as part of their strategies for ensuring the well-being of the noble house. This study contends that the patriarchal principle of primogeniture meant that a similar reasoning was applied to sons, and that this needs to be taken aboard in order to achieve a fuller understanding of the lives of noble offspring, both male and female. The Order offered one very attractive option – among a range of possibilities that Church and state presented – to noble families seeking to find a placement for their non-first-born sons. The success or failure of sons to perform well in society reflected and had a direct bearing on a father's claim to effective fatherhood. Yet Hospitallers were precluded from attaining the status of patriarchal heads of households like their fathers; instead they were meant to be religious chaste knights. A key argument of this study, then, is that the bachelorhood of the Hospitallers was a form of masculinity defined by specific religious and social factors. It was not inferior to the household-based model of manhood; it was distinct and showed how for men – particularly noblemen – there were various arenas of performance where they could prove their manliness. For the Hospitallers, these included the battleground (mostly at sea), the princely courts and the hospital. While being distinctive, Hospitaller masculinity also constituted an aspect of a wider response by the Catholic Church to the pressures of the Reformation, in particular the attack on chastity and celibacy. The Catholic Church had to outline an unambiguous male model of behaviour that emphasized the sacrifice and heroism of the celibate clergy, such as with the missionaries and the new religious orders. Virtues such as piety, sobriety, modesty, prudence, perseverance and so on, were central to male and, therefore, Hospitaller models, but they were equally applicable to, and expected of women and the wider laity.⁵ In effect, a new Catholic model of behaviour for men and women emerged over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, within which there was the Hospitaller option with its particular combination of chastity, service to the sick and commitment to permanent war against infidels; this Hospitaller model was taken up by a cross-section of the European male population.

'Serving the Poor' constituted half of the Order's mission statement and this acquired its most practical manifestation in the Holy Infirmary

of Valletta. All Hospitallers, including the Grand Master and in particular the novices, were expected to assist the sick at the Holy Infirmary. In most cases, this may have been limited to the distribution of food to the sick and some at least tried to avoid such duties. Others, in particular those who lived or were in contact with the *Camerata* during the seventeenth century, chose to live in close proximity to the Holy Infirmary so that they could provide a more active service therein. Alongside this official service towards the sick and the poor, this study has also highlighted how many Hospitallers provided remedies to their brethren, as well as to other people (mostly women). This was a manifestation of the medical pluralism sketched out by David Gentilcore for southern Italy and discernible in other parts of Europe.⁶ The Hospitallers combined medical, religious and magical knowledge to assist – free of charge – those in need, but their medico-magical knowledge also responded to the need of the Hospitallers to prevent injuries during combat and heal wounds as rapidly as possible. This affective Hospitaller masculinity has some parallels with that evinced by the twelfth-century Cistercians discussed in Caroline Walker Bynum's essay on 'Jesus as Mother', which delineates how, in this milieu, there occurred a merging of masculinity with the ideals of nourishing and dependence.⁷

By contrast, in living up to the Order's other half of their religious equation – 'Defending the Faith' – there was a strong emphasis on the firmness and spirituality required of the Soldiers of Christ. This explains the equation of the Hospitallers with the Maccabees, the divinely inspired warriors of the Old Testament who prayed and fought. When Hospitallers battled with Muslims and heretics, this constituted the essence of their religious devotion. This was a functional form of violence that protected Christian shores and vessels and kept the Hospitallers busy at sea rather than inactive on land. In fact, a number of early modern commentators appreciated the value of the Order in channelling away intra-European violence and directing it against the Ottomans.⁸ However, the boundary between legitimate and illegitimate violence was always unstable, and since violence was at the heart of the Hospitallers' masculinity, and weapons were habitually carried around, fights, brawls, duels and revolts were not uncommon. The persistently high levels of violence in Hospitaller Malta reflected similar European trends. Violence – particularly within all-male group settings and accompanied by food, drink, gambling and blasphemy – was essential to establish and maintain one's standing among one's peers, a feature that remained constant throughout the seventeenth century. This contrasts with Norbert Elias's idea of the civilizing process taming the nobility from the second half of the seventeenth century.⁹ The Hospitaller knights,

most of whom were French nobles and, therefore, Elias's subject matter, did not become docile courtiers. The violent and rowdy behaviour of many Hospitallers even placed patriarchal prerogatives and social cohesion in jeopardy. Instead of a linear civilizing process, there was a nuanced system of discipline and civility, where violence both threatened and reinforced social structures. Similarly, though young and old were often in conflict, they also shared an interest in a common combative culture and a sense of belonging to a common organisation. Violence and courtliness were not mutually exclusive; rather they co-existed in the same individuals, with varying aspects being made manifest according to context. While in France itself, particularly in Paris, the crown may have become increasingly able to direct noble energy and violence, Malta represented a space distant enough from Paris where noblemen could be freer of such restraints.

Male companionship, together with chastity (both when upheld and ignored), were central for a Hospitaller to prove himself, to grow from a young unbearded boy with the unbecoming title of 'Prince of Filfla' to become a physically and socially mature Hospitaller who could strive to gain real titles and positions. Through fighting, praying and mockery, a Hospitaller could establish his standing among his age-fellows and gain the patronage of established figures. Social status, skill, physical prowess, personal credit and connections were key elements that accompanied and determined a Hospitaller's life from the outset as a novice to his death as an old knight; the configuration of these various elements varied over time, depending on one's aspirations and the wider circumstances. Relationships among Hospitallers, particularly between older and younger members, varied from paternal-filial ones, to conflictual engagements, to sexual relations. There is evidence of semi-hidden sodomitical sex between Hospitallers, which reached its most sophisticated manifestation in the 'Order of the Drinking Glasses' in 1716, whose members took a vow to renounce sex with women in favour of boys. Not so concealed were relations with women; a number of Hospitallers were engaged in the service of prominent princesses, but in most cases relationships were of a sexual and/or companionate nature. From the youngest to the most senior, they kept and frequented prostitutes, courtesans, mistresses and concubines. With such practices being widespread, the Order sought to regulate sexual encounters, rather than eliminate them; attempts to discipline prostitutes and women in 1581 and 1639 not only failed but also led to serious outbursts of violence with grave consequences. As long as a relationship did not lead to marriage, there were not many obstacles to it. However, the severe condemnatory

language that was used for both marriage and sodomy cases shows that there were limits beyond which a Hospitaller was expected not to pass.

In their relations with other men and women, Hospitallers regularly resorted to the use of love magic and concoctions made by old women, Jews, Muslim slaves and even Hospitallers themselves to penetrate the souls and minds of those they wished to conquer; but the tables could also be turned and Hospitallers, too, had their emotions subverted by others. On average, in early modern Europe up to 75 to 80 per cent of those tried as witches were women, the remaining 20 to 25 per cent being men: the profile of these male witches varied from 'cunning men' (including herdsmen, blacksmiths and clerics), to men considered to have accumulated wealth through unfair means, to bad husbands/fathers. In each case, a combination of factors including age, social status, personality and connections rendered one more or less vulnerable to witchcraft accusations.¹⁰ The Hospitallers, as noble/privileged religious knights constituted a very particular group among men accused of sorcery. In most instances, Inquisition records reveal that Hospitallers were not investigated for *maleficium* (harmful magic) as such, although love and gambling magic were to some extent detrimental for those at the receiving end; as discussed above, much Hospitaller magic was in fact meant to heal and prevent harm. Magic was a central constitutive element in Hospitaller lives that has been largely ignored by Hospitaller studies, but which is essential in understanding their masculinity and faith and in furthering the scope of investigations about early modern male witchcraft more generally.

Emotions were an important part of the humoral economy that was seen to characterize human bodies in the early modern period. Men could express their emotions, but they were expected to do so in a rational and controlled manner that distinguished them from women. Self-control was the longed for ideal in all men, including the Hospitallers; exercising restraint over the body and over behaviour were key tests of adult manhood. Conversely, loss of control – exhibited physically through such acts as vomiting, the spilling of blood, urinating and defecating, and emotionally through outbursts of violence, insults and blasphemy – had ambivalent consequences. Though it imperilled patriarchal ideals, it reinforced a macho form of masculine bravado. A Hospitaller's body was figuratively pulled in opposing directions by the vow of chastity and the desire for sex, though the two were not completely incompatible in Hospitaller terms, as long as marriage was avoided. The bodies of Hospitallers were sites that were inscribed with meanings that changed over the course of the period studied here. Becoming a Hospitaller – and its obverse being defrocked – involved visually elaborate rituals in which the body was dressed – and undressed – to

mark the birth of a 'new man' or his being discarded 'like a fetid limb'.¹¹ The adornment of the body – through beards and shaving, hair and wigs, armour and weapons, as well as clothes – captured the malleability and changing image of a Hospitaller. The white eight-pointed cross proved to be the most enduring symbol to adorn Hospitaller bodies, and yet even this was on occasion rejected by Hospitallers seeking other means to fashion their masculinity (the 'Order of the Drinking Glasses' had their own badge, for instance). What constantly concerned the Order and the prescriptive authors was to avoid the dangers and decadence of effeminacy that could be brought about through overzealous care of the body.

As is expected of a Roman Catholic institution, the Order and its members have left a rich material legacy in Malta and beyond. Thus, the use of non-written sources in this study had two purposes. First, it recognizes the centrality of material culture in the Hospitallers' lives; objects ranging from paintings, books, armour, weapons, clothes, religious items and magical instruments abounded in the Hospitallers' possessions. Secondly, objects and images help to capture in particular the religious plurality of the Hospitallers. The members of the Order invested heavily in the production, consumption, patronage and ownership of religious objects typical of Counter-Reformation devotions. At the same time, many Hospitallers owned books – religious, magical and prohibited – and believed that scribbled words carried about on one's person had supernatural powers. Just as a reconsideration of Protestantism has highlighted the importance of images to Reformed Christianity, so were words more central to the Hospitallers' faith than previously imagined.¹² Moreover, by recognising how gender is embedded in images, this study commences the task of recapturing what constituted 'the Hospitaller look'.¹³

This investigation has been underpinned by a strong interdisciplinary focus. The historiographies of nobility, faith and masculinity have been used to flesh out a more rounded and suggestive picture of the Hospitallers. At the same time, these three factors are not just modern conceptual tools with which to engage with the past. They were three very real contemporary facets of Hospitaller life. First, nobility was of central importance – the linchpin, in fact – that safeguarded and sustained the Order. The Order could not function without the patronage of the nobility, which, in turn, relied on the Order to receive its male offspring and bolster its exclusivity. Secondly, since faith permeated every aspect of life, it was the anvil upon which the Order's identity was forged. The Order could not exist apart from the Papacy, even though many Hospitallers often wished that it would. Beyond the institutional life link with the Papacy, faith was also about the

devotions – orthodox and heterodox – that imbued the lives of the Hospitallers. Finally, masculinity was essential in shaping social roles. Sources from the past were generally produced by men and tend to have in-built male perceptions; masculinity was also implicit in drink, sex and fighting, as well as spirituality. It was cases of deviance – marriage, sodomy and revolts – that brought out most clearly official attitudes of what Hospitaller masculinity was meant to be. A Hospitaller, to be a proper man, had to be chaste, religious, skilful at arms, charitable and obedient. At the same time, there was nothing self-evident about the fact that Hospitallers were male. Their maleness had to be constituted in particular ways and in competition with other ideas about manhood; it was given meaning in specific contexts and depended on a lot of cultural work (beards, shaving, image making, and so on).

Practices, as well as ideas, the individual and the institution, have all been considered in this study, where the potential of words and images to constitute acts, and the significance of symbols, rituals and self-fashioning have been key categories of analysis. A wide range of European practices, ideas and prejudices were reflected within the Order. In turn, the Hospitallers provided a unique thread in the tapestry of nobility, faith and masculinity that was the backdrop to early modern European society. There is still much about the experience of being a Hospitaller in early modern times that needs to be studied. The Order and individual noble families interacted extensively during the process to have a son enrolled but what happened after that is less clear: how far was the individual divided in his loyalties between the family that had given him away and the institution that had embraced him?

References to portraits in this study have shown that there is much to be discovered from their use as sources of historical enquiry; a related venue of investigation could compare portraits of young Hospitallers with those of their siblings to find out how these captured and shaped the different life courses undertaken by variously aged boys and girls. There is also scope for an approach that is more international in range, taking in the breadth of activities of the Order across Europe and beyond, as well as more focused on specific regions. The linguistic and technical skills required for such endeavours are beyond the scope of one person, but would provide excellent possibilities for interdisciplinary cooperation; there is certainly room for much more ‘talk’ about the Knights of Malta.¹⁴

Epilogue

The air is chilly even as a bright Roman sun begins to break through a light morning mist; it is that time of the year when a fading winter tries to cling on to the city as spring is steadily elbowing it out. Early morning finds the inhabitants of Rome taking their dogs for a stroll around the *Circus Maximus*, that mass entertainment venue of the ancient world, before the throng of tourists fills the area and queues form for the nearby attraction, the Mouth of Truth. Leaving these major Roman landmarks behind, a short stroll along the Tiber, then up the Clivio di Rocca Savella, into Via di Santa Sabina leads to the elegant Piazza dei Cavalieri di Malta, high up on the Aventine Hill. In 1765, the architect Giovan Battista Piranesi (1720–1778) was commissioned by the Order of Malta to redesign the square, along with the adjacent buildings and gardens of the Order's Priory of Rome (formerly a Templar property). This architectural project – the only one which Piranesi ever actually carried out – fused the ancient history of the Aventine as a site associated with Roman military victories and weapons, with the character of the Order as a Christian, chivalric institution: war, death and martyrdom are the themes celebrated in the square and in the church of the Priory.¹ The most intriguing aspect, however, is the keyhole of the main doorway; through it, one can admire a perfect view of the Priory's garden with the cupola of St Peter's Basilica sitting at the end, offering quite possibly the most spectacular yet compressed view in the world. The 'view-in-the-keyhole' in many ways captures the essence of Hospitaller history: a small organisation with a panoramic past, coloured by scores of legends, yet unknown to many.

The account in this book ends around 1700, but the story of the Order continues. During the next 98 years of the Order's stay in Malta, the Order attained great heights in terms of prestige, architecture, the arts and pretensions to sovereignty; on the other hand, it faced some serious internal and external problems. The spirit of the eighteenth century was epitomized in the person of the Portuguese Grand Master Manuel Pinto de Fonseca

(1741–1773). In his own way, he was the equivalent for the Order and for Malta of the so-called Enlightened Despots of the age: Catherine the Great, Joseph II, Frederick the Great, and others.² He adopted the image of the closed crown of royalty, staked a claim to the island of Corsica, expelled the Jesuits and founded the University of Malta.³ Pinto's ostentation, however, came at a high price, for by the end of his magistracy both the Order and Malta were effectively bankrupt.

Sovereignty and neutrality in wars involving Christian kings were long-held principles that the Order cherished, but which in the eighteenth century it found particularly difficult to uphold. The Wars of Spanish Succession (1701–1714), Polish Succession (1733–1738), Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) stretched the Order's diplomats' abilities to the limits in trying to stay afloat amidst the political chaos of these conflicts. At the same time, the eighteenth century saw a number of initiatives on the part of the Order to adapt to a changing world, including an increase in economic exchanges with Spain, and diplomatic and economic contacts with Great Britain, the early American Republic and, in particular, Russia. There were also increasingly amicable contacts with the North African Muslim states of Tunis and Morocco.⁴ Symptomatic of changing Hospitaller–Muslim relations at this time was a transformation in Hospitaller–Venetian relations, from traditional enemies because of their opposing interests in the Ottoman Empire, to friends with common concerns; the two sides opened consulates in the 1750s and Malta served as an important naval base for Venice in the 1780s.⁵ The irony in this rapprochement was that Venice and Hospitaller Malta, perennial enemies for hundreds of years, were both undone by Napoleon Bonaparte at the moment when they had finally been reconciled. Napoleon conquered Venice on 12 May 1797; Hospitaller Malta fell a year after, between 9 and 12 June 1798.

The collapse of the French monarchy, the Order's principal protector, and the confiscation of the French commanderies by the Revolutionaries left the Order in an unfeasible position. The Order stood for everything that the Revolutionaries hated and Malta was considered a nest for the vices of all the nobility.⁶ Moreover, many Hospitallers were active counter-revolutionaries: the Receiver of Paris, Frà d'Estournel even financed the flight of the royal family to Varennes from Hospitaller funds. When Napoleon's mighty navy appeared on the horizon off Malta in June 1798, the Order felt helpless and the island fell largely without a fight: Hospitaller Malta was no more. Another twist in the tale of the Order's last Maltese days was the imprisonment in the Temple in Paris of the French royal family. This site

had been a Templar property and had seen King Philip IV's infamous persecution of the Templars. Like so many other Templar properties, it had subsequently passed under the control of the Hospitallers.⁷ Ironically, the greatest patrons of the Hospitallers lived their last days in a 'Hospitaller' prison in which their predecessor had destroyed the Templars. Out of this violent, bloody history, only the Hospitallers survived into modernity.

The three decades after 1798 proved to be the most testing in the Order's existence. At the Congress of Vienna in 1814–1815, the representatives of the Order tried – cleverly yet futilely – to argue that in a Europe of restored monarchies the Order's function of preserving the nobility was one of the strongest bulwarks that crowned heads could have.⁸ In 1834, Pope Gregory XVI (1831–1846) instructed the Order to settle in Rome. The Priory of Rome on the Aventine became a place of refuge for the crippled Order. Once in Rome, the Order gradually abandoned its military function and found a new niche for itself in the modern world by reverting completely to its original eleventh-century function of hospitality and charity. Slowly, its fortunes revived and over the years it established associations in various countries, which sustain its charitable and hospitaller activities. The Roman Catholic 'Sovereign Military Hospitaller Order of St John of Jerusalem of Rhodes and of Malta' is an international sovereign institution, subject only to the Pope, and with accredited ambassadors in more than 50 countries.⁹ Alongside it, the Order of Malta today recognizes four Protestant Orders of St John: the Most Venerable Order of St John of Jerusalem (Great Britain), the Bailiwick of Brandenburg of St John (Germany), the Order of St John (Netherlands) and the Order of St John (Sweden). Over the years, the five Orders have increased the level of cooperation between them so that, collectively, their operations are on a par with the Red Cross and Red Crescent and surpass Médecins Sans Frontières and Oxfam in terms of scales of resources.¹⁰ The website of the Order of Malta includes an interactive map which highlights the locations of its activities: ranging from interventions to deal with natural disasters as in Haiti, to helping the homeless in Rome, to the enhancement of an ambulance service in Timor-Leste, the presence of the Order in the places where its services are most needed to alleviate human suffering shows its continuing relevance in the present world.

Today, the Order's headquarters are in Via dei Condotti just off another popular icon of Rome, the Spanish Steps. It is a street lined with the shimmering shops of the world's most exclusive clothing brands; with so much to capture the eye, it is little wonder that few notice the Magistral Palace (or *Palazzo Malta*) at number 68. The palace was once the residence

of the priest and agent of the Order, Antonio Bosio (1575–1629), author of the famous *Roma Sotterranea*, a pioneering work in Christian archaeology.¹¹ Antonio was the illegitimate son and nephew of the Hospitallers Frà Giovanni Ottone Bosio and Frà Giacomo Bosio, respectively. Back in 1581, the two Bosio brothers had been involved in a scuffle in St Peter's Square in an effort to defend the honour of the beleaguered Grand Master la Cassière.¹² This episode from the lives of the Bosios and their links to Rome and *Palazzo Malta* is like a bridge between the early modern and the contemporary Order of Malta. It is a reminder, in fact, of the centrality of violence to the Order's existence: in medieval and early modern Europe, the Order fought spiritually, medically and militarily, while the Order today responds to violence, both natural and man-made, through humanitarian aid. Nobility, faith and masculinity were actual elements in the lives of early modern Hospitallers. Undoubtedly, in a form adapted to the twenty-first century, they still constitute basic elements in the Order's organization. Then, as now, institutions were shaped by beliefs, procedures and human relationships that can both sustain and undermine the hierarchies of an organization. Throughout its history, the Order was elastic enough, both in its ideas and in practice, to respond to the ever-present human desires of conformity and challenge.

Glossary

Antianitas/Ancianitas	The system of seniority within the Order of Malta.
Apostolic Delegate	The representative of the Pope.
Auberge	A building associated with a <i>Langue</i> , that is, a particular linguistic-geographic division within the Order. There was an Auberge for French Hospitallers, another for Italians, and so on. These were located in Valletta.
Bailiff	A high-ranking official within the Order.
Carovana	A period of six months on board the galleys which every Hospitaller had to undergo if he was to progress to gain office. Each Hospitaller was expected to perform four <i>carovane</i> .
Chapter General	The highest legislative body within the Order. It met every number of years according to the needs of the Order.
Collecta/Colletta	The administrative assembly of a <i>Langue</i> .
Commandery	A piece of land owned by the Order in Europe and the basic unit of administration and income. The Hospitaller who managed it was called a Commander.
Convent	This term meant the Order's headquarters, in particular, the place where the Grand Master, the Council of the Order, the Conventual Church, Holy Infirmary and Auberges were located. In early modern times, Valletta was considered as the Convent of the Order.
Conventual Chaplain	A priest of the Order. He had to be of respectable birth.

Conventual Church	The main church of the Order, dedicated to St John the Baptist.
Conventual Prior	The most senior religious figure of the Order, responsible for the conventual chaplains and the religious life of the Order. His seat was within the Conventual Church.
Familiar/s	Individual/s associated with the Office of the Inquisition. They did not receive financial payment for serving the Inquisition, but enjoyed certain benefits such as being exempt from secular justice.
Grand Cross	A high-ranking official within the Order.
Grand Master	The highest office within the Order, he was elected from among the senior members of the Order as head and served for life.
Holy Infirmary	The hospital of the Order. The place where the Order assisted the sick and the poor, but also an institution crucial for its corporate identity.
Hospitallers	Since the Order of Malta originated as a hospice in medieval Jerusalem, and since hospitality remained a key aspect of its existence, the members of the Order were referred to as Hospitallers. As a term, Hospitallers covered the different ranks within the Order, ranging from knights to servants-at-arms.
Jerosolomitan	Meaning 'of Jerusalem'. Since the Order had originated in Jerusalem, it was often described as being Jerosolomitan.
Knight/Knight of Justice	The most socially exclusive Hospitaller category since one had to be of high-ranking noble birth to be admitted to this position. It was from amongst these that the Grand Master was chosen.
Knight of Obedience/ Knight of Grace	Honorific titles that could be bestowed by the Grand Master and Council of the Order on individuals in view of their services to the Order.

Langue/Tongue	The groupings of different Hospitallers according to linguistic-geographical criteria. There were eight <i>langues</i> : Provence, Auvergne, France, Aragon, Italy, Castille, Germany and England.
Magistral (sometimes Magisterial)	Meaning 'of the Grand Master'. Used to describe anything pertaining to the Master, such as the Magistral Palace, the magistral office, magistral authority and magistral pages.
Passaggio	A payment which aspiring Hospitallers had to pay in order to join the Order.
Pilier	The head of a <i>langue</i> . Besides running the <i>langue</i> , a <i>pilier</i> was also responsible for a particular aspect of the Order's administration. See chapter 2, 58 for details.
Servant-at-arm/Serving Brother	A member of the Order born of respectable but not noble parents and whose function was to carry out military duties.
The Religion/the Hospital/the Order	These terms were/are applied as generic names for the organisation of the Hospitallers. Just as 'the Temple' was a shorthand for the Order of the Templars, so 'the Hospital' was/is a shorthand for the Order of the Hospitallers.
Turk	A generic term that in early modern sources was used interchangeably with 'Muslim' and 'Ottoman'. The Ottoman Empire was a Muslim power that covered large parts of the Mediterranean and embraced within its borders various peoples, including Greek Christians and North African Muslims. The term 'Turcism' was used to describe the appeal of Islam.
Vice-Chancellor	A key position within the Order's administration. Its holder was able to exercise extensive influence.

Appendix

Popes, Grand Masters, Bishops and Inquisitors, c. 1580–c. 1700

Popes

Gregory XIII	1572–1585
Sixtus V	1585–1590
Urban VII	1590
Gregory XIV	1590–1591
Innocent IX	1591
Clement VIII	1592–1605
Leo XI	1605
Paul V	1605–1621
Gregory XV	1621–1623
Urban VIII	1623–1644
Innocent X	1644–1655
Alexander VII	1655–1667
Clement X	1670–1676
Innocent XI	1676–1689
Alexander VIII	1689–1691
Innocent XII	1691–1700
Clement XI	1700–1721

Grand Masters

Jean l'Évêque de la Cassière	1572–1581
Hughes Loubenx de Verdalle	1582–1595
Martin Garzes	1595–1601
Alof de Wignacourt	1601–1622
Luiz Mendez de Vasconcellos	1622–1623
Antoine de Paule	1623–1636

Jean Paul de Lascaris Castellar	1636–1657
Martin de Redin	1657–1660
Annet de Clermont de Chattes Gessan	1660
Rafael Cotoner	1660–1663
Nicolas Cotoner	1663–1680
Gregorio Carafa	1680–1690
Adrien de Wignacourt	1690–1697
Ramon Perellos y Roccaful	1697–1720

Bishops

Tommaso Gargallo	1578–1614
Balthassar Cagliares	1615–1633
Miguel Joannes Balaguer Camarasa	1635–1663
Lucas Buenos	1666–1668
Lorenzo Astiria	1670–1677
Michele Geronimo Molina	1678–1682
Davide Cocco Palmieri	1684–1711

Inquisitors

Domenico Petrucci	1579–1580
Federico Cefalotto	1580–1583
Pier Francesco Costa	1583–1585
Ascanio Libertano	1585–1587
Giovanni Battista Petralata	1587
Paolo Bellardito	1587–1591 & 1591–1592
Angelo Gemmario	1591
Giovanni Ludovico dell'Armi	1592–1595
Innocenzo del Bufalo de' Cancellieri	1595–1598
Antonio Ortensio	1598–1600
Fabrizio Verallo	1600–1605
Ettore Diotallevi	1605–1607
Leonetto della Corbara	1607–1608
Evangelista Carbonese	1608–1614
Fabio della Lagonessa	1614–1619
Antonio Tornielli	1619–1621
Paolo Torello	1621–1623

Carlo Bovio	1623–1624
Onorato Visconti	1624–1627
Nicolo Herrera	1627–1630
Ludovico Serristori	1630–1631
Martino Alfieri	1631–1634
Fabio Chigi (Pope Alexander VII)	1634–1639 (1655–1667)
Giovanni Battista Gori–Pannellini	1639–1646
Antonio Pignatelli (Pope Innocent XII)	1646–1649 (1691–1700)
Carlo Cevalletti	1649–1652
Federico Borromeo	1653–1654
Giulio degli Oddi	1655–1658
Gerolamo Casanate	1658–1663
Galeazzo Marescotti	1663–1666
Angelo Ranuzzi	1666–1668
Carlo Bichi	1668–1670
Giovanni Tempì	1670–1672
Ranuccio Pallavicino	1672–1676
Ercole Visconti	1677–1678
Giacomo Cantelmo	1678–1683
Innico Caracciolo	1683–1686
Tommaso Vidoni	1686–1690
Francesco Acquaviva d’Aragona	1691–1694
Tommaso Ruffo	1694–1698
Giacinto Filiberto di Messerano	1698–1703

Notes

A Note on Currency

- ¹ Cassar, *Society*, xvii; Cachia, 'The treasury', xi.
- ² Sammut, *Currency*, 62–8.
- ³ These figures were worked out using an online currency converter provided by the National Archives of the United Kingdom (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography).
- ⁴ Mallia-Milanes, 'Introduction', 22, 32–3.

Introduction

- ¹ Eco, *Foucault's Pendulum*, 77.
- ² Barber, *The new knighthood*, chapter 9.
- ³ Womersley (ed.), *Edward Gibbon*, Vol. 6, 609–10. Anobile (ed.), *The Maltese*, 8.
- ⁴ On St John's Gate, see Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*, 128–51. See also the St John Ambulance website (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography).
- ⁵ On the modern Order, see www.orderofmalta.org. On the Manneken Pis as a 'Knight of Malta', see the story in *The Sunday Times [of Malta]* of 20 June 2010 (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography).
- ⁶ For a survey of Enlightenment ideas see Porter, *The Enlightenment*. The 'Enlightenment' is generally seen as a convenient if contested concept; see Young, 'Enlightenment', 235–51. On changing ideas about manhood see Vickery, *The gentleman's daughter*, 9, 197; Carter, *Men*; Shepard, 'From anxious', 281–96; Harvey, 'The history', 296–312. Van Reyk, 'Christian', 1053–73.
- ⁷ The two revolts referred to here were the Revolt of 1581, in which Grand Master la Cassière was toppled from power (see chapter 2), and the Revolt of 1699, in which a group of Hospitallers threatened to attack the Bishop's Palace (see chapter 5).
- ⁸ These questions have been addressed by Mallia-Milanes: 'The Birgu phase', 75–9; 'The significance', 227–31; 'A pilgrimage', 90–1.
- ⁹ On the prevalent antiquarian influence in studies about military orders, see Matikkala, *The Orders*, 15–16.
- ¹⁰ For the history of the Order in Jerusalem, see Riley-Smith, *The Knights*. For the history of the Order after Jerusalem, see the Variorum collections of Luttrell: *The Hospitallers in Cyprus*; *Latin Greece*; *The Hospitallers of Rhodes*; and *The Hospitaller*

- state; see also Sarnowsky, *Macht*. Two examples of works about the Order in the nineteenth century include Siberry, 'Victorian', 365–372; and Riley-Smith, *The military-religious orders*.
- ¹¹ The quote is from Anglo, 'Introduction', x. cf. Gies, *The knight*, 17–21, 216–29.
 - ¹² Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 3, 473–4. On the continued vitality of the Order in early modern times, see Mallia-Milanes, 'Hospitaller baroque culture', 279–88.
 - ¹³ On Hospitaller historiography, see Luttrell, 'Hospitaller historiography', 3–11. For a discussion of Italian historiography on the military-religious orders, see D'Avenia, *Nobiltà*, 10–20.
 - ¹⁴ Angiolini, *I cavalieri*. Merlotti, 'Un sistema', 477–514. Matikkala, *The Orders*, 1. Wilson, *War*. Riley-Smith, 'Towards', 271. Merlotti, 'Gli ordini', 175–93.
 - ¹⁵ On cultural history, see Chartier, *Cultural history*; Burke, *Varieties*; Burke, *What is cultural history?*; See also Mandler, 'The problem', 94–117; Jones, 'Peter Mandler's 'problem'', 209–15; Arcangeli, *Che cos'è*, 7–10; Wharman, 'Change and the corporeal', 584–602.
 - ¹⁶ Williams, 'Boys', 179–84.
 - ¹⁷ Refer to the Bibliography.
 - ¹⁸ Roper, *Oedipus*, in particular, 'Blood and codpieces'. Shepard, *Meanings*, in particular the Introduction and Part II.
 - ¹⁹ Bosio, *Le immagini*, 6–11. Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 17–59. Williams, 'The constitutional', 285–96. Luttrell, 'The military orders', 77–88. Camilleri, 'The Pie Postulatio', 17–36. Nicholson, *The Knights*, 3–5. Freller, *Malta – The Order of St John*, 17–21.
 - ²⁰ Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 46, 52, 196–7.
 - ²¹ On the Order in Rhodes, see Sarnowsky, *Macht*.
 - ²² Nicholson, *The Knights*, 61–2. Galimard Flavigny, *Histoire*, 61. Spiteri, *The Great Siege*. On la Valette, see Mallia-Milanes, 'Frà Jean', 117–29. On the Great Siege of 1565, see Mallia-Milanes, 'The significance', 227–31.
 - ²³ Fiorini, 'Demographic', 115–8, 144–5. Koenigsberger, Mosse, and Bowler, *Europe*, 33–7. Pennington, *Europe*, 26–30.
 - ²⁴ Cassar, *Society*, 29–94. Cassar, *A concise history*, 121–30. Grima, *Żmien*, 115–18. Mallia-Milanes, 'English merchants', 342–61. Mallia-Milanes, 'Introduction', 32. Ciappara, 'Integration', 238. C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 120, f.2^v, 1 August 1618; Vol. 170, Case 139, n.p., 5 October 1629.
 - ²⁵ Cassar, *A concise history*, 122. Grima, *Żmien*, 118. Brogini, 'L'esclavage' (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography). On slavery in Malta, see Wettinger, *Slavery*. For Muslim perspectives about captivity on Malta, see Matar, *Europe*, 47, 64–6, 89, 241–2, 245–8.
 - ²⁶ On the organisation of the Inquisition of Malta, see Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, 3–6; Cassar, *Society*, 157. Ciappara, *Society*, 326–90; Black, *The Italian inquisition*, 45–8, 99. On the Inquisition's functionaries and familiars, see Bethencourt, *The Inquisition*, 160–73.
 - ²⁷ Bowd, *Reform*, 225–6.
 - ²⁸ Luttrell, 'The military orders', 88. Angiolini, 'La nobiltà', 875–99.
 - ²⁹ Allen, 'Attempts', 939–52. Scalletari, *Condotta*, 394–7. A.R.S.I., Ms.Sic.12II, f.295^r, 1 January 1639. See also Matikkala, *The Orders*, 1–5, 231–6, 274–5. Allen, 'The Order of St John and Cromwell's navy', 152.
 - ³⁰ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo CXX.

- ³¹ Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 236–9. Nicholson, *The Knights*, 22. Nicolle, *Knights*, 141–67, 169–79. Mallia-Milanes, ‘Introduction’, 12–14. Hoppen, ‘Military’, 399–428. Mussetto, ‘Castelli’, 107–16. Sarnowsky, *Macht*, 469–582. Brogini, *Malte*, 213–24. Williams, ‘Stone’, 415–26. On recent trends in the study of Hospitaller fortifications, see the contributions in the volumes on *The Military Orders*, edited by Barber, Nicholson, Mallia-Milanes and Upton-Ward. For an overview of Hospitaller fortifications over the centuries, see Spiteri, *Fortresses*.
- ³² Lener, ‘Natura’, 175. Poumarède, *Pour*, 314–23. Nicholson, *The Knights*, 13–17.
- ³³ Two examples: *Relazione della presa che hanno fatto le galere della Sacra Religione di Malta*, (Florence, 1638); *Avviso nuovo della presa della città di Maometta in Barberia*, (Rome, 1602). Hale, ‘Sixteenth-century’, 3. Vella, ‘The 1565’, 194. See also M. Infelise, ‘Roman *Avvisi*’, 212–28.
- ³⁴ cf. Steen, ‘The fate’, 283–9; Allen, ‘The Order of St John as a ‘school for ambassadors’, 365.
- ³⁵ Bono, ‘Naval exploits’, 388–97; Greene, *Catholic*, 4–5, 11. See also Hanlon, *The twilight*, 30–6; Brogini, *Malte*, 253–331; Mallia-Milanes, *In the service*, 1–100.
- ³⁶ Lener, ‘Natura’, 28, 178, 435, 553, 641, 654. On the early modern papacy, see Prodi, *The papal*; A.D. Wright, *The early modern*; Signorotto and Visceglia (eds.), *Court*; Rietbergen, *Power*.
- ³⁷ Mallia-Milanes, ‘Corsairs’, 106.
- ³⁸ For a list of these archives and libraries, see the ‘Manuscript Sources’ part of the Bibliography. See also Michel, ‘*I manoscritti*’.
- ³⁹ Spagnoletti, *Stato*, 176.
- ⁴⁰ Greene, ‘Resurgent Islam’, 234–8. Greene, *Catholic*, 6, 9, 101–7. Cutajar and Cassar, ‘Malta’s role’, 130. For a survey of the relations between France and the Order during the seventeenth century, see Petiet, *Le roi*.
- ⁴¹ B.A.N.L.C., Ms.39, B.13, f.271^r, 5 July 1568. B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5353, f.38^r, 1668. Sire, *The Knights*, 51–4. Nicholson, *The Knights*, 186, 198–9, 121–2. Allen, ‘The Order of St John and Cromwell’s navy’, 142.
- ⁴² B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6697, ff.27^v, 10 January 1638. A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.31, f.255^r, 30 December 1680. Greene, ‘Beyond’, 64–5. Greene, ‘Resurgent Islam’, 238. Greene, *Catholic*, 177.
- ⁴³ See Wilson, *Europe’s tragedy*.
- ⁴⁴ S.J.G., Box K23/2(7)–K24/1(8) Merle Collection, K23/5b(lv), 15 January 1630, ‘*le mal que souffre le France et les guerres d’Italie*’. Williams, ‘The constitutional’, 293.
- ⁴⁵ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6690, f.238^r, 1640.
- ⁴⁶ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 174, n.p., 28 November 1642.
- ⁴⁷ N.L.M., Libr. Ms.1416, 93, 1689. Cutajar and Cassar, ‘Malta’s role’, 121–32. Pennington, *Europe*, 422, 437, 445.
- ⁴⁸ Mallia-Milanes, ‘A pilgrimage’, 91. On the Order’s possessions across Europe and their management, see Sire, *The Knights*, 101–206. On the presence of the Hospitallers in southwest Germany, see Forster, *Catholic revival*, 5; on their presence in the Holy Roman Empire, see Wilson, ‘The nobility’, 87–8; on their presence in Sicily, see Giuffrida, *La Sicilia*, esp. chapters. 4, 5, 6.
- ⁴⁹ On the Reformation and the Order of Malta, see Rödel, ‘Catholic’, 34–41; Maier, ‘Strategies’, 355–65. An important collection of papers on this theme is Mol, Miltzer, and Nicholson (eds.), *The military orders*.

- ⁵⁰ On Hospitaller women in the Middle Ages, see Luttrell and Nicholson, 'Introduction', 1–42. For an overview of Hospitaller nuns in Malta, see Aquilina, *Le monache*. See also Evangelisti, *Nuns*, 13–14. On the need for Counter-Reformation historiography to look at men as well as women (both lay and religious), see King, 'Religion', 72; Laven, 'Encountering', 718–9.
- ⁵¹ On the pervasiveness and silence of gender in history, see Jordanova, *Defining features*, 97. See also Crowston, 'Women', 20.
- ⁵² Quoted phrases from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography).
- ⁵³ Buisseret, 'State', 1098. Visceglia, *Identità*, esp. chapter 3. Scott and Storrs, 'Introduction', 5.
- ⁵⁴ Mettam, 'The French nobility', 130–3. Thompson, 'The nobility', 194–5. Gonçalo Monteiro, 'Nobility', 266–9. Donati, 'The Italian nobilities', 289–90. Early modern debates about the nature of nobility had their roots in similar medieval discussions on how to define nobility; see Keen, *Nobles*, 187–222.
- ⁵⁵ Scott and Storrs, 'Introduction', 7–8, 11, 40–2, 46–7. Dewald, *The European nobility*, 28, 97. Hale, *War*, 75, 90–97. Tucker, 'Eminence', 1057–95. Parrott, *Richelieu's army*, 313–20, 465–6. Spagnoletti, 'Onore', 212–26.
- ⁵⁶ Scott and Storrs, 'Introduction', 21. Dewald, *The European nobility*, xiii.
- ⁵⁷ Monteiro, '17th and 18th century' (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography). For the history of the Order in Portugal, see Costa, *A ordem*.
- ⁵⁸ Bohanan, *Crown*, 8–31. Scott and Storrs, 'Introduction', 3. Elias, *The civilizing process*, 265–9; for reactions to Elias' arguments, see Chartier, *Cultural history*, chapter 3; Thomas, 'Introduction', 11; Duindam, *Myths*; Carroll, *Blood*, 3–5; Goody, *The Theft*, chapter 6. Mousnier, *The institutions*, Vol. 1, 42–4, 58–74, 204–5, *et passim*; for reactions to Mousnier's arguments see Stone, *The crisis*; Kalas, 'Marriage', 366; Carroll, *Blood*, 290–1.
- ⁵⁹ Asch, 'Introduction', 3–4, 15–16, 24–35. Holt, 'Introduction', xiv–xvi. Bohanan, 'The sword', 51–62. Henshall, *The myth*, 120–75. Major, *From Renaissance monarchy*, 326–30, 367–75. Dewald, *The European nobility*, 4–5. Black, *Kings*, 19–57. Beik, 'The absolutism', 195–224. Zmora, 'The princely', 18. Scott and Storrs, 'Introduction', 7–8, 35–6. Loiseau, 'Much ado', 275, 288–9, 294.
- ⁶⁰ Spagnoletti, 'Elementi', 1028–30. Spagnoletti, *Stato*, 115–78. Donati, *L'Idea*, 248. Donati, 'The Italian nobilities', 290. Blondy, 'L'Ordre', 105–16. Thompson, 'The nobility', 201. Hernández, 'Forging nobility', 171. D'Avenia, *Nobiltà*, 5.
- ⁶¹ N.L.M., A.O.M.293, ff.158^v–160^r, Chapter General 1597. Paoli, *Codice Diplomatico*, Vol. 1, 254–5. Donati, *L'Idea*, 250–1.
- ⁶² Benedictis, *Patrizi*. Visceglia (ed.), *La nobiltà*. Hills, 'Enamelled', 5–6, 23–8.
- ⁶³ Wilson, 'The nobility', 74–5.
- ⁶⁴ Scott, 'Conclusion', 377.
- ⁶⁵ Sandberg, 'Through naval practice', 223–4. D'Avenia, *Nobiltà*, 40–50.
- ⁶⁶ Donati, *L'Idea*, vii. D'Avenia, *Nobiltà*, 6.
- ⁶⁷ On women and nunneries, see Hufton, *The prospect*, 366–74; Sperling, *Convents*, 216–7; Laven, *Virgins*, 43–63; Evangelisti, 'Monastic poverty', 1–3; Hills, 'Enamelled', 1–40. On initiatives by women to lead non-cloistered religious lives, see Lux-Sterritt, *Redefining*.
- ⁶⁸ Kalas, 'Nobility', Vol. 3, 148–50. Rublack, *Reformation Europe*, 99, 100, 123. Sandberg, 'Through naval practice', 220, 223.

- ⁶⁹ For an overview of Counter-Reformation historiography, see O'Malley, 'A historiographical frame', 19–27; Ditchfield, 'Of dancing cardinals', 386–408; Wright, *The Counter-Reformation*, ix–xix; Laven, 'Encountering', 706–20.
- ⁷⁰ Jedin, *A history*. Alberigo, 'Council of Trent', Vol. 4, 173–77. Ditchfield, 'Of dancing cardinals', 395–6. Birely, 'Redefining Catholicism', 145–61. Laven, 'Encountering', 709. See also Beales, *Prosperity*, esp. chapter 1.
- ⁷¹ Laven, 'Encountering', 710. Davis, 'From 'popular peligion'', 322–35. Calvi, *Histories*, xiii.
- ⁷² Arthur, 'Popular religion in France', 302–5. Burke, 'Popular religion in Italy', 307–9. Bilinkoff, 'Popular religion in Spain', 309–11. Poska, 'Popular religion in Portugal', 311–2.
- ⁷³ Burke, 'Popular religion', 295. On ways to approach the study of religious cultures, see also Husain, 'Introduction', 6.
- ⁷⁴ O'Neil, 'Magical healing', 88–114. Gentilcore, *From bishop*, 6–12, 129–35, 187, 232. Johnson, 'Blood', 195. Forster, *Catholic revival*, 110–7. The use of magic by Hospitallers will be discussed in chapters 3, 4 and 5.
- ⁷⁵ Wiesner, *Christianity and sexuality*, 10–11. MacCulloch, *Reformation*, xxiv. Strasser, *State*, 173. See also Forster, *Catholic revival*, 13–15. Boer, *The conquest*, ix.
- ⁷⁶ Refer to the papers in German in Mol, Militzer and Nicholson (eds.), *The military orders*. See also Wright, 'The military orders', 575–6. On religious co-existence in the Holy Roman Empire and the Swiss Confederation, see Kaplan, *Divided*, 198–234.
- ⁷⁷ Forster, *Catholic revival*, 208. On Hospitaller-Jesuit relations, see chapter 3, 111–12, and chapter 5, 171–7.
- ⁷⁸ Strasser, *State*, 13, 49, 100, 105. For the medieval backdrop to these debates, see Riches and Salih, 'Introduction', 1–18. For a survey of developments in the history of religion and gender, see King, 'Religion', 70–85.
- ⁷⁹ Gowing, *Domestic dangers*, 27–8. Harris and Roper, 'Introduction', 6. Mead and Hanks, 'Introduction', 2. On gender and history, see: Davis, 'Women's history' in transition', 90; Scott, 'Gender', 1053–75; Scott, 'Unanswered questions', 1,423; Boydston, 'Gender as a question', 560, 575–9.
- ⁸⁰ Foyster, *Manhood*, 1–2. Francis, 'The domestication', 637. Davis, 'Boundaries', 53–63. Ruggiero, 'Introduction', x. Rublack, 'Meanings of gender', 2–6, 15. Hendrix and Karant-Nunn, 'Introduction', ix–xix.
- ⁸¹ Definition of gender adapted from Shepard and Walker, 'Gender', 455.
- ⁸² Foyster, *Manhood*, 5. Harvey, 'The history', 301. See also Wiesner, *Christianity and sexuality*, 3; Wiesner, 'Disembodied theory?', 154; Tosh, 'What should historians do', 179–202; Shepard and Harvey, 'What have historians done', 274–81; Fletcher, 'Manhood and politics', 12–13.
- ⁸³ See for instance, Lees (ed.), *Medieval masculinities*; Fletcher, 'Men's dilemma', 62; Cohen and Wheeler (eds.), *Becoming male*; Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in medieval Europe*; Wiesner, *Women and gender*, 304–5; Neal, 'Suits', 1–3; Shepard, *Meanings*; Cullum and Lewis (eds.) *Holiness and masculinity*; LaGuardia, *Intertextual masculinity*, 2, n.3, 5–6. Cartagena-Calderón, *Masculinidades*.
- ⁸⁴ Roper, 'Slipping', 57–72. Ellis and Meyer, 'Introduction', 8–9.

- ⁸⁵ Connell, *Gender and power*, 183–6. Connell, *Masculinities*, 77–80. Connell, *The men*, 10, 152–63. Foyster, *Manhood*, 4, 210–11, 213–4. Shepard, *Meanings*, 5. Connell and Messerschmidt, ‘Hegemonic masculinity’, esp. 845–54. See also Shepard and Walker, ‘Gender’, 456; Coles, ‘Negotiating’, 30–44.
- ⁸⁶ Tosh, ‘Hegemonic masculinity’, 41–58. Shepard, ‘From anxious’, 287. Shepard and Harvey, ‘What have historians done’, 284–5.
- ⁸⁷ See for instance, Roper, *Oedipus*, 109; Foyster, ‘Male honour’, 215–7; Chojnacki, *Women*, 193. See also Tosh, ‘What should historians do’, 185.
- ⁸⁸ Ruggiero, *The boundaries*, 14. Wiesner, ‘Wandervogels’, 771. Chojnacki, *Women*, 199. Shepard, *Meanings*, 252. Scott and Storrs, ‘Introduction’, 12–14.
- ⁸⁹ Wiesner, ‘Wandervogels’, 767. Roper, *Oedipus*, 118–9. Davis, *The war*, 110. Darnnton, *The great cat massacre*, 79. Shepard, *Meanings*, 13–14. Poska, ‘A married man’, 4, 17–18.
- ⁹⁰ Tanner (ed.), *Decrees*, Vol. 2, 755, Session 24, ‘Canons on the sacrament of marriage’, 9 and 10. Zarri, ‘Gender’, 193–212. Cavallo, *Artisans*, 208–11. Cavallo, ‘Bachelorhood’, 375–97. Strasser, ‘The First Form’, 46–7. Crawford, ‘The politics’, 225, 227, 251. Harvey, ‘The history’, 303. Naturally, domesticity and warrior masculinity were often complementary; see for instance, LaGuardia, *Intertextual masculinity*, chapters 2 and 3.

Chapter 1

- ¹ King, *Rule*, 192.
- ² Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 237. Donati, *L’idea*, 250–2.
- ³ On the Order’s organisational structure, see Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*, 55–74; Nicolle, *Knights*, 76–95; Burgtorf, *The central*, 96, 139–40, 146.
- ⁴ Logan, ‘Counter-Reformation’, 275–6, 283. Williams, ‘Boys’, 181–2. Pastor, *The history*, Vol. XXIV, 153–4.
- ⁵ N.L.M., A.O.M.87, ff.Lj^r, 20 October 1545.
- ⁶ N.L.M., A.O.M.295, f.95^r, Chapter General 1612, ‘*non ostanti che siano nati fuori de legitimo matrimonio . . . come si fussero nati di legitimo matrimonio*’.
- ⁷ N.L.M., A.O.M.295, f.61^v, Chapter General 1612. A.O.M.1678, index to the volume, late seventeenth century. For recruitment within the Order prior to Malta, see Sarnowsky, *Macht*, 19–224; Nicolle, *Knights*, 96–111; Burgtorf, *The central*, part three.
- ⁸ N.L.M., A.O.M.295, ff.60^v, 95^r, Chapter General 1612. N.L.M., Libr. Ms.174, ff.71^v–72^r, Chapter General 1631. On German guilds, see Roper, *Oedipus*, 109.
- ⁹ Cachia, ‘The Treasury’, 10. Camilleri, ‘The National Library’, 51–2.
- ¹⁰ N.L.M., A.O.M.1678, f.14, late seventeenth century, ‘*che l’illegittimi benche secondo il ius Canonico in due sole specie si dividono, e sono i naturalij e gli spuriij*’.
- ¹¹ N.L.M., A.O.M.1678, ff. 182–92, 239, late seventeenth century.
- ¹² Scott and Storrs, ‘Introduction’, 7–8. Dewald, *The European Nobility*, 4–13. Loiseau, ‘Much ado’, 276–7. Kalas, ‘Marriage’, 382. Biagiatti, *Storie*. Chojnacki, *Women*, 10–11.
- ¹³ Davis, ‘Boundaries’, 59.

- ¹⁴ Hale, *Renaissance war studies*, 227–31. Dewald, *The European nobility*, 46–7. White, 'Spain's early modern soldiers', 25–6. Scott and Storrs, 'Introduction', 7–8. Donati, 'The Italian nobilities', 314–5.
- ¹⁵ Scott and Storrs, 'Introduction', 7–8. Dewald, *The European nobility*, 13.
- ¹⁶ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.166, f.20^r, 1604, '*impetro l'habito in fasce*'.
- ¹⁷ N.L.M., A.O.M.2254, ff.289^v–290^r, 1663–1680, '*fratello primogenito deli pretendenti*'.
- ¹⁸ Spagnoletti, 'Elementi', 1026. Donati, *L'idea*, 247. Mettam, 'The French nobility', 130–3. Thompson, 'The nobility', 193. Hernández, 'Forging nobility', 170–1. Monteiro, '17th and 18th Century' (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography).
- ¹⁹ N.L.M., Libr. Ms.413(1), f.164, 1637. On Frà de Vendôme, see Shennan, *The Bourbons*, 63, 80–1.
- ²⁰ Abela, *Della descrittione*, n.p., '*esser divenuta reggia della Sacra Religione Gerosolimitana, che è à dire, del più scelto, e nobile sangue della Christianità*'.
- ²¹ Bosio, *Histoire*, n.p., '*esté compose de la plus pure et plus valeureuse Noblesse de toutes les Nations de la Chrestienté*'.
- ²² N.L.M., Libr. Ms.1416, n.p., 1689, '*On linstruit ensuite sur les sentiments que luy doncent inspirer l'ordre de Chevalerie dont on l'honore, et la noblesse du sang qui y est attaché*'.
- ²³ B.A.V., Barb Lat, Ms.5324, f.266^v, c. 1635, '*del fiore della più scelta, e della piu eminente nobilta di tutto il Christianesimo*'.
- ²⁴ N.L.M., A.O.M.2252, 202, late seventeenth century. Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordi XLV, CXX. Parisi, *L'idea*, 5. Bonanni, *Catalogo*, No.60. Ditchfield, 'An early Christian school', 194–5.
- ²⁵ Scott and Storrs, 'Introduction', 42–6. Donati, 'The Italian nobilities', 289–90. N.L.M., A.O.M.2252, 201–3, late seventeenth century.
- ²⁶ On the significance of maps in early modern Europe, see Buisseret, *The mapmakers' quest*, xi, 49–50. Fiorani, 'Post-Tridentine', 124. Pollak, 'Military architecture', 109–24. Kagan, *Urban images*, 205. Wilson, *The world*, 14, 23–69. On Valletta and d'Aleccio see Ganado, *Valletta*, 269–88.
- ²⁷ Zuffi, *Il cinquecento*, 47.
- ²⁸ Piro, 'The language', 49–53. Vella, 'The visual representation', iii–vi. Vella, 'The 1565', 199. Sammut, 'Paintings', 60–9.
- ²⁹ Micallef, *Lezioni*, 56–9.
- ³⁰ Scott and Storrs, 'Introduction', 16–17. For a case-study about the investigation of nobility in Burgundy, see Loiseau, 'Much ado'.
- ³¹ Farrugia, *L-arkivji*, 53. For a detailed and comparative discussion on how 'Proofs of Nobility' were collected, see D'Avenia, *Nobiltà*, 25–50.
- ³² B.C., Ms.320, ff.26^v–27^r.
- ³³ Mallia-Milanes, 'A pilgrimage', 85.
- ³⁴ N.L.M., A.O.M.1678, f.18, late seventeenth century.
- ³⁵ On the complex multi-religious situation in early modern Spain, see Kamen, *The Spanish inquisition*, 240–7, and Taylor, 'The enemy', 78–99. On the Iberian military orders, see Olival, 'Gli ordini', 143–53.
- ³⁶ Freller, *St Paul's grotto*, 97.
- ³⁷ On 'how-to' manuals, see Wiesner, *Early modern Europe*, 8–9; Bell, *How to Do It*.
- ³⁸ Allen, 'The Hospitaller Castiglione's Catholic synthesis', 255–68. Nasalli Rocca, 'Fra Sabba Castiglione', 577–84. See also, Clunas, *Superfluous things*, 50–1, 186 n.21.

- ³⁹ Other key prescriptive works include Marulli, *Vite*; Parisi, *L'Idea*; Zondadari, *Breve*. These will be referenced throughout this study.
- ⁴⁰ B.M.R., Ms.105, Chapter 7, second half of the seventeenth century. The mid-seventeenth century saw a peak in the spread of armorial arms in Catholic Europe; see Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, 30.
- ⁴¹ B.C., Ms.320, ff.37^v–38^r, c. 1650. Modern research on the origins of heraldry has shown such ideas to have been the fanciful creations of late medieval and early modern writers; see Pastoureau, *Devil's cloth*, 26, and Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, 15–17. On the Maccabees see Bechtel, 'The Machabees' (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography).
- ⁴² Camilleri, 'The National Library', 55. Crane, *The performance*, 107–10, 124–5, 177–8.
- ⁴³ Sire, *The Knights*, 82.
- ⁴⁴ B.M.R., Ms.MAL641MAR, f.7, c. 1689, '*le molte perplessità, che provate in risolvervi di fare la solenne regular Professione nell'Ordine Militare, cui siete ascritto fin dalla vostra più tenera fanciullezza*'.
- ⁴⁵ N.L.M., A.O.M. 2254, ff.96^r, c. 1670, '*nelli nostri piu' teneri anni, et e' in quell tempo dove l'huomini sotto li quali noi dovevamo pigliare il giogo d'obedienza*'.
- ⁴⁶ B.C., Ms.320, f.26^r, c. 1650. B.M.R., Ms.MAL641MAR, f.17, c. 1689.
- ⁴⁷ Bianco (ed.), *Il sommario*, 121–3, 132, 137. See also Peyronel Rambardi, *Dai Paesi Bassi*; Zarri, 'Gender', 198–202; Bowd, *Reform*, 61. Del Col, *L'Inquisizione*, 265–6.
- ⁴⁸ N.L.M., A.O.M.2229, ff.15^r, 265^r, 276^r. Libr. Ms.174, f.19^v.
- ⁴⁹ Data for Italy: N.L.M., A.O.M.2166, ff.264–5. Data for Sicily: D'Avenia, *Nobiltà*, 58–9.
- ⁵⁰ This data was extrapolated from two documents, A.O.M.2185, compiled in 1789, and A.O.M.2186, compiled in 1796, and refers to Knights of Justice received in the *Langue* of Aragon, Catalonia and Navarre.
- ⁵¹ Mallia-Milanes, *Descrittione*, 97.
- ⁵² Mettam, 'The French nobility', 145–9. Dewald, *The European nobility*, 65. Scott and Storrs, 'Introduction', 25.
- ⁵³ Cachia, 'The Treasury', 61. B.M.R., Ms.MAL641MAR, f.17, c.1689.
- ⁵⁴ B.C., Ms.320, ff.46^v–47^r, c. 1650. N.L.M., A.O.M.1679, pp. 82–4, late seventeenth century. These rates were set by the Chapter General of 1631 and they seem to have remained unchanged during the period under investigation. The rates for knights and servants-at-arms represented an increase of 50 *scudi* on the rates established by the Chapter General of 1583; see Cachia, 'The Treasury', 113. The rate for minors actually doubled from the 500 *scudi* specified by the Chapter General of 1612 to the 1,000 *scudi* of 1631. All entry fees were substantially raised by the Chapter General of 1776; see D'Avenia, *Nobiltà*, 154–7.
- ⁵⁵ Donna d'Oldenico, *Redditi*, 25. Hoppen, 'The finances', 110. D'Avenia, *Nobiltà*, 9, n.12.
- ⁵⁶ S.J.G., Box K23/2(7)–K24/1(8), Merle Collection, K24/1(ii), 20 June 1635. Box K24/1(9)–K24/4(10), Merle Collection, K24/1(iii), 12 February 1636. N.L.M., A.O.M.1678, f.410, late seventeenth century. Cachia, 'The Treasury', 93.
- ⁵⁷ Boudinhon, 'Religious dower', (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography). Laven, *Virgins*, 40. Women who wished to join a Hospitaller nunnery had to pay a dowry; see Luttrell and Nicholson, 'Introduction', 28.

- ⁵⁸ Aquinas, *Summa*, Second Part of the Second Part, Q.100, Art.3, Reply Obj.4, 260–1.
- ⁵⁹ Vermeersch, ‘Novice’ (see ‘Online Resources’ in Bibliography). Tanner (ed.), *Decrees*, Vol. 2, 781, Session 25, Chapter 16.
- ⁶⁰ Cachia, ‘The Treasury’, 115, 267.
- ⁶¹ N.L.M., A.O.M.1679, 80–2, late seventeenth century.
- ⁶² Angiolini, ‘La nobiltà’, 876–7.
- ⁶³ See Spagnoletti, ‘Elementi’, 1040.
- ⁶⁴ N.L.M., A.O.M.1679, 80–2, late seventeenth century.
- ⁶⁵ Scott and Storrs, ‘Introduction’, 12–13, 48–51. Dewald, *The European nobility*, 28, 122. Zarri, ‘Gender’, 194–5. Kalas, ‘Marriage’, 382. Spagnoletti, ‘Elementi’, 1030–1.
- ⁶⁶ N.L.M., A.O.M.2229, f.145^v.
- ⁶⁷ N.L.M., A.O.M.2254, f.18^r, 28 July 1614.
- ⁶⁸ N.L.M., Libr. Ms.174, ff.73^{rv}, Chapter General 1631.
- ⁶⁹ Jaffe’ (ed.), *Titian*, 136–7. To view this portrait, go to the website of the National Gallery of Art (see ‘Online Resources’ in Bibliography).
- ⁷⁰ Spagnoletti, ‘Elementi’, 1031.
- ⁷¹ See Morselli, *Gonzaga*, 173–4. The painting made by Rubens is now in a private collection in Australia; I was able to view a reproduction of this image thanks to Dr Daniela Sogliani of the Palazzo Te, Mantova, Italy (26 May 2003).
- ⁷² Mallia-Milanes, ‘A pilgrimage’, 88.
- ⁷³ On the complex manoeuvres and interactions of the leading Italian families and European dynasties in Rome, see Signorotto and Visceglia (eds.), *Court*. On relations between the Papacy and the Order on Rhodes, see Sarnowsky, *Macht*, esp. 170–96.
- ⁷⁴ B.Ang., Ms.1216, ff. 11^r–12^v, 5 September 1609. On the Papal Secretary of State, see Menniti Ippolito, ‘The secretariat’, 132–57.
- ⁷⁵ B.A., Ms.1225 f. 45^r, 3 January 1614.
- ⁷⁶ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6688, f.17^r, 28 December 1617.
- ⁷⁷ Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, 14–15. For a reproduction of this engraving, see Ronzon, ‘Appunti’, 260–1. On the Barberini family, see Scott, *Images of nepotism*; Rietbergen, Power; Cole, ‘Cultural clientelism’, 729–88. On the importance of hunting for the nobility, see Hale, *Renaissance war studies*, 234; Carroll, *Blood*, 62–5. On cardinal nephews, see Wright, *The early modern*, 113; Menniti Ippolito, ‘The secretariat’, 132–4.
- ⁷⁸ Pointon, *Hanging*, 1, 5. Dewald, *The European nobility*, 157–60.
- ⁷⁹ The painting is now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, Inv.1890, n.3649; Sebregondi, ‘Giusto Suttermans’, 160–1.
- ⁸⁰ Gash, ‘Painting’, 518.
- ⁸¹ Jordanova, *Defining features*, 14, 18–20, 22–3. Jordanova, ‘The portrait transaction’, 27–8. On portraiture, identity and the nobility, see Dewald, *The European nobility*, 160; Morselli, *Gonzaga*, 173–4; Jaffe’ (ed.), *Titian*, 136; Rapelli, *Simboli*, 329.
- ⁸² N.L.M., A.O.M.448, f.109^r, 1594–1595. A.O.M.98, f.168^v, 1594–1595.
- ⁸³ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.1, f.125^r, 10 November 1582, ‘*Cav^{ro} Antiano et benemerito*’.
- ⁸⁴ Donati, *L’idea*, 254. See also, D’Avenia, *Nobiltà*, 159.

- ⁸⁵ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.39, 257^r, 24 December 1688. Thompson, 'The nobility', 191.
- ⁸⁶ N.L.M., A.O.M.2252, 202, late seventeenth century.
- ⁸⁷ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.39, 257^r, 24 December 1688.
- ⁸⁸ N.L.M., A.O.M.96, ff.127^r, 156^v, 158^v, 178^r.
- ⁸⁹ B.A.V., Barb Lat, Ms.6700, Doc.13, c. 1630s–1640s.
- ⁹⁰ N.L.M., A.O.M.2254, ff.63^v–78^r, 23 November 1676.
- ⁹¹ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 209, n.p., 16 October 1656, '*Bisogna dire che quando uno sara eletto Papa, il Diavolo piglia possesso dell'Anima sua*'.
- ⁹² Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, 14–17.
- ⁹³ Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*, 72–4.
- ⁹⁴ Ariès, *Centuries*, 47–8, 203, 206. Motley, *Becoming*, 14–16.
- ⁹⁵ Sandberg, 'Through naval practice', 221–2.
- ⁹⁶ Scott and Storrs, 'Introduction', 45–6.
- ⁹⁷ Thompson, 'The nobility', 216–19.
- ⁹⁸ Grendler, *Schooling*, 365–7, 369, 372–6. Donati, 'The Italian nobilities', 315. Zenoni, *Per la storia*. Hale, *Renaissance war studies*, 285–308.
- ⁹⁹ Hale, *Renaissance war studies*, 225–46. Braddick, *State formation*, 6, 45. Zmora, *Monarchy*, 3–6.
- ¹⁰⁰ Williams, 'Boys', 181.
- ¹⁰¹ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5353, f.31^r, 1668, '*All'usanza delle personi grandi nella Francia*'.
- ¹⁰² See Allen, 'The Order of St John as a "School for Ambassadors"', 363.
- ¹⁰³ Addis and Arnold, *A Catholic Dictionary*, 600–1. Vermeersch, 'Novice' (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography).
- ¹⁰⁴ Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 231–3. Forey, 'Novitiate', 1–3. Williams, 'Boys', 181.
- ¹⁰⁵ Forey, 'Novitiate', 6.
- ¹⁰⁶ Forey, 'Novitiate', 8.
- ¹⁰⁷ Tanner (ed.), *Decrees*, Vol. 2, 750, Session 23, Canon 18.
- ¹⁰⁸ Williams, 'Boys', 182. N.L.M., A.O.M. 295, f.64^r, Chapter General 1612.
- ¹⁰⁹ N.L.M., Libr. Ms.174, f.17^r, Chapter General 1631. N.L.M., A.O.M.309, f.50^v, Chapter General 1776.
- ¹¹⁰ N.L.M., A.O.M.292, Chapter General 1587, f.59^r. A.O.M.1678, f.407, late seventeenth century. A.O.M.1688, f.83, late seventeenth century.
- ¹¹¹ N.L.M., A.O.M.109, f.242^v–243^r, 7 January 1629.
- ¹¹² Vermeersch, 'Novice' (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography).
- ¹¹³ N.L.M., A.O.M.109, f.242^v–243^r, 7 January 1629.
- ¹¹⁴ N.L.M., Libr. Ms.174, f.2^v, Chapter General 1631, '*Sarra deputato Commissario o' Governatore di alcuna delle tre Case del Novitiate e che per lo spatio di tre anni intieri e nuoluti che vera in buona e religiosa disciplina governati li Novitij e fattegli le tavole con darligli pitanza*'.
- ¹¹⁵ N.L.M., A.O.M.309, f.64^v, Chapter General 1776.
- ¹¹⁶ B. Vall., Ms.L23, f.66^r, c. 1590.
- ¹¹⁷ A.R.S.I., Collegia (Fondo Gesuitico al Gesù di Roma), Busta N.92/1463–53, c. 1650.
- ¹¹⁸ B.M.R., Ms.MAL641MAR, f.19, c. 1689, '*Mostrarsi meritevole della grazia cui aspira*'. N.L.M., A.O.M.1679, f.120, late seventeenth century. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees*, Vol. 2, 781, Session 25, Chapter 15.

- ¹¹⁹ N.L.M., A.O.M.296, f.132^r, Chapter General 1631.
- ¹²⁰ N.L.M., A.O.M.1679, f.134, late seventeenth century, '*Di provvedere alla libertà del Novitia, che non sia impedito d'uscir dalla Religione ed costretto à professare per vedersi già spogliato de i beni*'. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees*, Vol. 2, 817, Session 25 Chapter 16. Logan, 'Counter-Reformation', 275.
- ¹²¹ Cachia, 'The Treasury', 93, 183–6, 192. N.L.M., A.O.M.1679, ff.120, 133, late seventeenth century.
- ¹²² N.L.M., A.O.M.1679, 137, late seventeenth century. On primogeniture, see Davis, *The gift*, 50; Scott (ed.), *The European nobilities*, Vol. 1, Glossary.
- ¹²³ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5036, 6, 1630.
- ¹²⁴ Dreuille, *From East*, 114.
- ¹²⁵ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5036, 3, 1630.
- ¹²⁶ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.166, f.5^r, c. 1600.
- ¹²⁷ A painting which follows the same kind of iconographical pattern can be seen in the Museum of St Paul's Church, Rabat, Malta, and is reproduced in Savona-Ventura, *Knight Hospitaller medicine*, 70.
- ¹²⁸ Military historians emphasize how the socialization of boys influences their performance during battles; see Moss, *Manliness*, xii, 3–6, 31; Moyar, 'The current state', 225–40. On training in fighting techniques in medieval and early modern Europe, see Anglo, *The martial arts*, 2–3.
- ¹²⁹ Linati-Bosh, 'Le galere', 164–6.
- ¹³⁰ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 110, 2 October 1613; Case 126, 20 December 1621; Case 129, 25 March 1622.
- ¹³¹ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 173, n.p., 5 October 1642, '*Renego Idio di buon cuore*', '*Sangue di Dio*', '*Ventre di Dio*', '*Morte di Dio*'.
- ¹³² N.L.M., A.O.M.296, Chapter General 1631, f.146^r.
- ¹³³ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 239, n.p., 30 September 1677. Po-Chia Hsia, *The world*, 207–8.
- ¹³⁴ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 257, n.p., 7 March 1689.
- ¹³⁵ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.51, ff.52^r–53^v, 6 March 1700, '*Erano il fiore della gioventù, e nobiltà dell'Europa*'.
- ¹³⁶ Vermeersch, 'Novice' (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography). Weisner, 'Childhood', 1699.
- ¹³⁷ On disruptive masculinity, see Roper, *Oedipus*, 107–8.
- ¹³⁸ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 98, f.1^r, 6 May 1609.
- ¹³⁹ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 212, n.p., 23 May 1658, '*Je Renè Dieu*'.
- ¹⁴⁰ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 123, n.p., 21 March 1621.
- ¹⁴¹ Griffiths, *Youth*, 37–8. Williams, 'Boys', 179.
- ¹⁴² N.L.M., A.O.M.292, Chapter General 1587, f.59^r. A.O.M.295, f.100^r, Chapter General 1612. A.O.M.296, f.134^r, Chapter General 1631.
- ¹⁴³ N.L.M., A.O.M.296, ff.136^r–137^r, Chapter General 1631.
- ¹⁴⁴ Bandura, *Social learning theory*, 12–13. Santrock, *Adolescence*, 50. On socialization, see Atchley, *Social forces*, 138–40.
- ¹⁴⁵ On pagehood in France, see Motley, *Becoming*, 20–22, 177–9.
- ¹⁴⁶ N.L.M., Libr. Ms.413(1), 1–4, c. 1637.
- ¹⁴⁷ Bradford (ed. and trans.), *The Great Siege*, 130.
- ¹⁴⁸ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5200, f.233^r, 1574–75.

- ¹⁴⁹ Buhagiar, 'The miraculous image', 104.
- ¹⁵⁰ Piro, *The sovereign palaces*, 30–2, 34.
- ¹⁵¹ Reproductions of these frescoes can be seen in Piro, *The sovereign palaces*, 318–9; and Freller, *The palaces*, 49–51.
- ¹⁵² Figure 1.5 is an engraving based on Caravaggio's painting. To view a reproduction of Caravaggio's painting, see <http://www.backtoclassics.com> (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography); see also Nicholson, *The Knights*, Plate VI. For more information on the engraving, see Toffolo, *Image*, 38.
- ¹⁵³ Ariès, *Centuries*, 368.
- ¹⁵⁴ Davis, *The war*, 109.
- ¹⁵⁵ Ariès, *Centuries*, 56. Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance clothing*, 2–4, 17–20. On the decline of pagehood, see Hale, *Renaissance war studies*, 231–2.
- ¹⁵⁶ Piro, *The sovereign palaces*, 34.
- ¹⁵⁷ Hollander, *Seeing through clothes*, 311.
- ¹⁵⁸ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5036, 3–4, 1630. N.L.M., A.O.M.1678, f.3, late seventeenth century.
- ¹⁵⁹ On livery, see Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance clothing*, 2, 4, 17–21, 277; Motley, *Becoming*, 20–2. On regal appearance, see Vigarello, 'Le corps', 387–409.
- ¹⁶⁰ Shahar, *Childhood*, 21–31. Steinberg, 'Adolescence', 10–11.
- ¹⁶¹ cf. Sperling, *Convents*, 137–40, for the monachization ceremony of nuns.
- ¹⁶² B.M.R., Ms.MAL641MAR, f.21, c. 1689. It would seem that the solemn and elaborate ceremony of early modern times was highly evocative of what had happened earlier in Jerusalem, Cyprus and Rhodes; see Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 232–33, and Williams, 'Boys', 179–81.
- ¹⁶³ King, *Rule*, 192.
- ¹⁶⁴ Bosio, *Gli statuti*, 103.
- ¹⁶⁵ B.M.R., Ms.MAL641MAR, f.21, c. 1689.
- ¹⁶⁶ Bosio, *Gli statuti*, 98–9. B.M.R., Ms.MAL641MAR, f.11, c. 1689. B.M.R., Ms.67, f.8, 1754.
- ¹⁶⁷ Kraus, *The adventures of Count George Albert of Erbach*, (London: John Murray, 1890). This was translated into English by Beatrice Princess Henry of Battenberg (1857–1944), daughter of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. Historians of the Order of Malta have tended to quote this book as being a true story; however, library catalogues (inc. Cambridge University Library) classify it as a work of fiction. In an e-mail dated 6 August 2008, Mr David McClay of the John Murray Archive (National Library of Scotland) informed me that there is no reference in the Murray papers as to whether this was a work of fiction or non-fiction. Evidence presented in Freller, *Malta and the Grand Tour*, 53, 112, 190, *et seq.*, shows that Count George Albert of Erbach was indeed a real person. Therefore, what is most likely is that Kraus' book was a fiction backed up by some accurate facts: for instance, the details of the investiture ceremony follow accurately what was specified in Bosio, *Gli statuti*, 96–105, but present it in the flowing form of narrative.
- ¹⁶⁸ Kraus, *The adventures*, 142–3. Bosio, *Gli Statuti*, 105.
- ¹⁶⁹ Kraus, *The adventures*, 148.
- ¹⁷⁰ Kraus, *The adventures*, 154–5, 157–8.
- ¹⁷¹ Bosio, *Gli statuti*, 101.
- ¹⁷² 'Indvimini Novvm Hominem vt Cvm Hoc Avt in Hoc'.

- ¹⁷³ B.M.R., Ms.MAL641MAR, f.24, c. 1689, 'con l'Abito di Cavaliere viene egli a vestirsi di un nuovo uomo'.
- ¹⁷⁴ Ariès, *Centuries*, 268. For reflections and reactions to Ariès's work on childhood, see Classen, 'Philippe Ariès', 1–66; Rosenthal, 'Introduction', 1–11; Haas and Rosenthal, 'Historiographical reflections', 13–28.
- ¹⁷⁵ Furstenberg, 'Sociology of adolescence', 94–7. Steinberg, 'Theories of adolescent development', 102.
- ¹⁷⁶ On the idea of the investment that fathers made in their sons' achievements, see Roper and Tosh, 'Introduction', 17; Tosh, *A man's place*, 114.

Chapter 2

- ¹ cf. Denton, 'Introduction', 2–4.
- ² cf. Farr, *Hands*, 125.
- ³ Luttrell, 'The military orders', 88.
- ⁴ Williams, 'The constitutional', 285.
- ⁵ Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*, 55. Riley-Smith, 'The military-religious orders', 7.
- ⁶ N.L.M., A.O.M.293, f.51^r, Chapter General 1597. B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5325, f.40^v, 1621–1623.
- ⁷ Alston, 'Convent' (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography). Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 279.
- ⁸ B.M.R., Ms.31, 101, 1647, 'La Valletta, . . . e' La stanza, e Convento dell'Ordine'. B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6694, f.53^r, 16 August 1625, 'Da Convento'.
- ⁹ Vann, 'Hospitaller record-keeping', 279. Farrugia, *L-arkivji*, 45–55.
- ¹⁰ For the organisational structure of the Order prior to Malta, see Sarnowsky, *Macht*, 1–96; Nicolle, *Knights*, 58–95; Burgtorf, *The central*, part 2.
- ¹¹ Scarabelli, *Catalogue*, 35. Cassar, 'Baroque Portraits', 138–47. Galea, 'The Grand Prior', 87–106.
- ¹² Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 234–9.
- ¹³ Zondadari, *Breve*, 24–5. Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 321–2.
- ¹⁴ Boisgelin, *Ancient*, Vol. I, x.
- ¹⁵ Williams, 'The constitutional', 291. Sciberras, *Baroque Painting*, 24–9, 108. Capriotti, 'Il pericolo', 133–41.
- ¹⁶ Zondadari, *Breve*, 24. On the admission procedures – and exceptions to the rules – for Knights of Justice, Chaplains and Servants-at-arms see D'Avenia, *Nobiltà*, 51–87, 121–57.
- ¹⁷ Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 277–8. Burgtorf and Nicholson, 'Preface', xv.
- ¹⁸ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5036, 4, 1630.
- ¹⁹ The electoral system to choose a Pope had also been recently reformed in 1623; Scott, *Images*, 5.
- ²⁰ Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, 39–41, 211–2, 'Questa l'ha cagionata il dover scriver le polizze, poiché in Lingue numerose, come quella d'Italia, che fu di 138 votanti, se si doveva eseguire ad uno per volta, tra 'l partirsi dal suo luogo, l'andare a tavolino, l'accomodarsi a scrivere, l'adattarsi per alcuni delli occhiali, e con quella tardità, che comporta, o la paralisi de' vecchi, o 'l non uso, e soverchio vigor de' polsi de' giovani, avezzi più alla spada, o al moschetto, che alla penna, non sarebbe bastata una giornata intiera, perciò si risolvono

scrivere a più per volta, e sopra l'altare delle cappelle. E non di meno, durò la funtione dalle due di sole, fino alle tre hore di notte'.

- ²¹ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6689, ff.384^r–385^r, June 1636.
- ²² C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 211, n.p., 21 August 1657. A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.13, ff.90^r–91^v, 1657. For another reference to canvassers in magistral elections, see N.L.M., A.O.M.1697, f.2^v, 1670.
- ²³ Adamson, 'The making', 7–41.
- ²⁴ Piro, *The sovereign palaces*, 21. Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, Appendix A. B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5200, f.233^r, 1574–75. Barb. Lat., Ms.6677, ff.75^r, 8 May 1623 – 3 January 1627. A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.13, f.79^r, 25 May 1658.
- ²⁵ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5353, ff.17^r–18^v, 1668 'lo servono con la sola paga delle speranze, [e] di favori, di commende, di gratia, ò d'assegnamenti di cariche, et ufficij'.
- ²⁶ 'Imperio Digna Obedientia'. Sarnowsky, *Macht*, 583–609.
- ²⁷ Pasquinelli, *Il gesto*, 117–20, 226–30.
- ²⁸ Rapelli, *Simboli*, 22–7, 28–33.
- ²⁹ Pasquinelli, *Il gesto*, 148–53, 239–43.
- ³⁰ Ronzon, 'Appunti', 263–4. Bonello, *Mysteries and myths*, 75–87. A selection of these engravings have been used throughout this book. On Rome as a centre of printmaking, see Bury, *The print*, 121–69. See also Bowen and Imhof, *Christopher Platin*, 17–30, 177–247.
- ³¹ On the use of images in works on political philosophy and of a technical nature, see: Osley, (ed. & trans.), *Giovambattista Palatino*, 2; Hale, *Renaissance war studies*, 211–25; Skinner, *Hobbes*, 190–8; Skinner, 'Seeing is believing', 53–7. On images and history, see: Porter, 'Seeing the past', 188; Spicer, 'The Renaissance elbow', 118–20; Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 14–15; Gaskell, 'Visual history', 211–14; Jordanova, 'Image matters', 777–91.
- ³² Bosio, *Historia*. Abela, *Della descrizione*. Pozzo, *Historia*. Vertot, *Histoire*. See also Innocenti, 'General Bibliography', 269–70.
- ³³ For instance, see below for dal Pozzo's and Vertot's comments about the 1581 revolt against Grand Master la Cassière.
- ³⁴ *Esgart des frères* denoted a judgement by the Chapter (General) on a particular matter; see Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 63; Sterns, 'Crime', 84–111; Williams, 'Esgart', 11.
- ³⁵ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.7, ff.133^v, 10 January 1647.
- ³⁶ Bradford (ed. and trans.), *The Great Siege*, 9–11. Boisgelin, *Ancient*, Vol. I, ix–x. Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 304–39. Cachia, 'The Treasury', Glossary.
- ³⁷ 'Deo Turrin Lingvarum Struant Columnae'.
- ³⁸ Rapelli, *Simboli*, 34–9, 62–3.
- ³⁹ Williams, 'The constitutional', 287, 293–4.
- ⁴⁰ *Oxford English Dictionary* (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography).
- ⁴¹ On the debates regarding the use and value of patriarchy, see: Rowbotham, Alexander and Taylor, in Samuel (ed.), *People's history*; Waters, Walby and Acker in *Sociology*, 23:2; Tosh, 'What should historians do', 184, n.30; Roper and Tosh, 'Introduction', 9; Strasser, *State*, 7–10. Bennett, *History matters*, 21–2, 54–81.
- ⁴² Roper and Tosh, 'Introduction', 10. See also Fletcher, 'Men's dilemma', 61–2; Farr, *Authority and sexuality*, 31; Hardwick, *The practice*, xi–xvi; Tosh, 'Hegemonic masculinity', 44–5, 56; Carroll, *Blood*, 234, 252.

- ⁴³ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.3, ff.24^v–25^r, ‘benigno Padre, e supremo signore di questa Religione’; f.14^r, ‘figliuoli di vera obediencia’, 1580s. B.Ang., Ms.1216, ff.16^v–17^v, 12 September 1609. B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6693, f.4^v, 1623.
- ⁴⁴ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.50, ff.352^r–354^v, 11 December 1699.
- ⁴⁵ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6693, f.57^r, c.1630, ‘affetto paterno alla lor Madre Relig’.
- ⁴⁶ N.L.M., Libr. Ms.148, ff.56^v, 1640.
- ⁴⁷ Hughes, ‘Augustinian rule’, 106–7. Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 37, 48.
- ⁴⁸ B.M.R., Ms.60, n.p., c.1635.
- ⁴⁹ Bohanan, *Crown*, 18–22. Scott and Storrs, ‘Introduction’, 21.
- ⁵⁰ Tosh, ‘What should historians do’, 182. Connell, *Masculinities*, 190. Dewald, *The European nobility*, 97. Pullan, ‘Three orders’, 157–8. Biagianti, *Storie*.
- ⁵¹ Shepard, *Meanings*, 1.
- ⁵² On primogeniture and the rules of inheritance affecting the nobility, see: Giesey, *Rulership*, 108–27; Scott and Storrs, ‘Introduction’, 13–14; Mettam, ‘The French nobility’, 149–50; Gonçalo Monteiro, ‘Nobility and aristocracy’, 266–7.
- ⁵³ On the Revolt of 1581 see 83–7 further down; on the anti-Jesuit revolt of 1639 see chapter 5, 171–7.
- ⁵⁴ Fletcher, ‘Manhood’, 420.
- ⁵⁵ Connell, *The men*, 152–63.
- ⁵⁶ On Francesco and Antonio Barberini, see Rietbergen, *Power*, 143–80. See also Brunelli, *Soldati*, 194–5, 197–8, 202–3, 205–6, 209.
- ⁵⁷ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.166, ff.49^v, 1635, ‘Si adunarono i Cavalieri nel Palazzo delli quattro fontani il Venerdì 30 di Marzo 1635 in numero di trenta di diverse lingue, et nationi. Sederono tutti sopra scabilli di legno, et in mezzo a loro il S^r Card^e Priore, il quale sidendo sotto al Baldacchino in una ricca sedia di velluto con un breve’. On the genesis of Palazzo Barberini, see Scott, *Images*, chapter 1.
- ⁵⁸ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5324, ff.263^r–266^v, 1635.
- ⁵⁹ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.166, ff.50^v, 1635, ‘L’Ambre si altero grandemente e mutatosi di colore’.
- ⁶⁰ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.166, ff.48^r–67^v, 1635.
- ⁶¹ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5324, ff.257^r–263^r, 1635, ‘Qualunque controversia che nasca di precedenza fra’ gli Ambasciatori e gli Priori della Sacra Religione di Malta e’ forse degna di lode, se si maneggia senz’amaritudine d’animo appassionato con intentione che nella intesa non l’affetto, ma’ la giustitia prevaglia. Perche essendo le parti quanto fra di loro discordanti nella pretensione altrettanto concordi nel fine ch’e’ di honorare le cariche, e gli officij a’ ciascuno di loro dalla Religione raccomandati’.
- ⁶² Scott, *Images*, 6.
- ⁶³ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 57, f.1^r, 28 June 1587. Friction between Italians and French involved in joint maritime activities was certainly not uncommon; see Sandberg, ‘Through naval practice’, 222–3.
- ⁶⁴ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6677, ff.79^r–80^r, 8 May 1623 – 3 January 1627.
- ⁶⁵ N.L.M., A.O.M.96, f.68^v, 1580s. Bonello, *Closures and disclosures*, 48.
- ⁶⁶ Buagni, *Relazione della vittoria*, n.p.
- ⁶⁷ N.L.M., A.O.M.296, f.141^v, Chapter General 1631.
- ⁶⁸ N.L.M., Libr. Ms.211, Preface, 1699, ‘Istruzione per il Cappellano di Galera: Accresciute si bene di alcune altre materie morali, e di quelle principalmente de’ casi riservati alla sede Apostolica, cosa che trà gente di varie nazioni, e di condizioni anche diverse,

de' quali si compone l'armamento delle nostre Galere, non è sì Lungi da poter occorrere à i Cappellani delle medesime.'

- ⁶⁹ Muldrew, 'Interpreting the market', 168–83. Shepard, *Meanings*, 188, 123. Roper, 'Stealing manhood', 13. Muldrew, 'The culture', 915–42. Cohen, 'Honour and gender', 599.
- ⁷⁰ N.L.M., A.O.M.101, f.803, 1604. Bonello, *Convictions and conjectures*, 124.
- ⁷¹ The use of cipher was by then a well-established part of the machinery of state throughout early modern Europe; see Queller, *The office*, 140–1.
- ⁷² B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6683, ff.31^{rv}, 7 August 1639.
- ⁷³ Murray, 'Masculinizing religious life', 31.
- ⁷⁴ Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 318.
- ⁷⁵ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordi XXXVIII, XLIX, LXX. For a survey of ideas about the relationship between horses and people in England, see Edwards, *Horse and man*; and in France, see Roche, 'Equestrian culture', 113–45.
- ⁷⁶ S.J.G., Box K24/1(9)–K24/4(10) Merle Collection, K24/3(ii), 14 February 1643.
- ⁷⁷ Camporesi, *Bread*, 13.
- ⁷⁸ For a discussion of food in early modern Malta see Gambin and Buttigieg, *Storja*, 105–88. For a discussion of food at sea, see Gauci, 'Considerations', 3–10.
- ⁷⁹ S.J.G., Box K23/1–K24/2(6), K23/1(9), 22 September 1647; K23/1(12), 20 December 1647; K23/1(17), 17 June 1648; K2/1(18), 20 July 1648; K23/1(19), 21 September 1648. Box K24/1(9)–K24/4(10) Merle Collection, K24/3(iii), 27 December 1647.
- ⁸⁰ On food and the ways it conferred social status, see Bynum, *Holy feast*, 1–3.
- ⁸¹ Linati-Bosh, 'Le galere di Malta', 160–64. N.L.M., A.O.M.119, ff.205^v–206^r, 14 January 1656.
- ⁸² Williams, 'Boys', 181. On ethnic enclaves see Abulafia, 'Introduction', 20.
- ⁸³ See Heller, *Anti-Italianism*, 14.
- ⁸⁴ On commercial 'nations' see Petti Balbi, 'Le *nationes*', 398, 400, 421–2. See also, Fusaro, 'Gli uomini', 378–95.
- ⁸⁵ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 146, n.p., 15 January 1631.
- ⁸⁶ Dursteler, *Venetians*.
- ⁸⁷ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 210, n.p., 18 February 1656.
- ⁸⁸ Scarabelli, *Catalogue*, 56.
- ⁸⁹ N.L.M., A.O.M.93, f.180^v, 1577.
- ⁹⁰ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 230, n.p., 12 July 1669.
- ⁹¹ B.M.R., Ms.60, n.p., 1635.
- ⁹² Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, Appendix B.
- ⁹³ B.N.C.R., Ms. Vitt. Em.838, ff.539^{rv}, 574^v, 1663.
- ⁹⁴ Piro, *The sovereign palaces*, 30–1.
- ⁹⁵ Bonello, *Deceptions and perceptions*, 121–2.
- ⁹⁶ Brinkley, *Arthurian legend*, 1–25. Barber, *King Arthur*, 134–69. White (ed.), *King Arthur*, xv–xxv.
- ⁹⁷ N.L.M., A.O.M.119, f.205^r, 14 January 1656, '*in una tavola tonda, nella quale non si può fare differenza dell'Antiano, al figlio arnaldo, del Cav^{re} al fra serviente, e però desiderano d'essere serviti, e di magnare in una tavola lunga, com'era in altri tempi consueto, e come si pratica in tutti le altre Albergie*'.

- ⁹⁸ Scott, 'Introduction: The evolution of service nobilities', 2. Wilson, 'The nobility', 74–82.
- ⁹⁹ N.L.M., A.O.M.119, f.205^v, 14 January 1656, '*che tutto quello che sopravvanzarà alli d'i s'i Pilieri, e due antiani doverà essere distribuito alli fratelli figli arnaldi, come si pratica nelle Albergie di Francia*'. Similar hierarchical arrangements prevailed in most religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church; see for instance Evangelisti, *Nuns*, 5–10, *et seq.*
- ¹⁰⁰ N.L.M., Libr. Ms.509, 699, late seventeenth century, '*In capo siede il Gran Commend^{re} à cui seguono*'.
- ¹⁰¹ N.L.M., Libr. Ms.509, 700, late seventeenth century.
- ¹⁰² N.L.M., A.O.M.1680, 251, late seventeenth century.
- ¹⁰³ N.L.M., A.O.M.1680, 254–5, late seventeenth century.
- ¹⁰⁴ N.L.M., Libr. Ms.509, 700, late seventeenth century.
- ¹⁰⁵ Gowland, 'Ageing', 143–54. See also Arber and Ginn (eds.), *Connecting gender and ageing*; James and Prout (eds.), *Constructing and reconstructing childhood*.
- ¹⁰⁶ See Williams, '*Esgarts*', 9. On *antianitas* (or *ancianitas*) in Rhodes, see Sarnowsky, *Macht*, 62–3, 91–4, 164–7, 212–23, 306–12, 338–40.
- ¹⁰⁷ Dabhoiwala, 'The construction', 202–3. Capp, 'The double standard', 71. Rublack, *Crimes*, 249. Shahar, 'The old body', 160, 166. Shepard, *Meanings*, 9.
- ¹⁰⁸ Roper, *Oedipus*, 118–9. Ben-Amos, *Adolescence*, 36–7. Griffiths, *Youth*, 176. Mitterauer, *A history*, 2–3. Atchley, *Social forces*, 131, 150.
- ¹⁰⁹ N.L.M., A.O.M.296, f.132^v, Chapter General 1631.
- ¹¹⁰ B.M.R., Ms.MAL641MAR, f.17, c.1689.
- ¹¹¹ Boisgelin, *Ancient*, Vol. I, x. B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6688, ff.31^{rv}, 4 October 1621.
- ¹¹² N.L.M., A.O.M.296, f.138^r, Chapter General 1631.
- ¹¹³ N.L.M., Libr. Ms.413(1), ff.164, 167, 1637.
- ¹¹⁴ N.L.M., A.O.M.256, f.97^r, 1630. Philips, *The life*, 173–4. Bonello, *Ventures and adventures*, 118–22.
- ¹¹⁵ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6688, ff.31^{rv}, 4 October 1621, '*uno delli Anziani*'.
- ¹¹⁶ Mercieca, 'Aspects', 193–4.
- ¹¹⁷ Griffiths, *Youth*, 12–13, 27–8, 37. Shepard, *Meanings*, 15–16.
- ¹¹⁸ Roper, *Oedipus*, 115.
- ¹¹⁹ Davis, *The war*, 69. Davidson, 'Theology', 96.
- ¹²⁰ Farr, *Authority and sexuality*, 22–3.
- ¹²¹ *Istruzioni sopra gli obblighi più principali*, Preface.
- ¹²² Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo CXXXIII, '*un cavalier di San Giovanni amato da Dio, & ben veduto dalla nostra religione, & apprezzato da gli huomini del mondo, dalli buoni, & dalli rei*'.
- ¹²³ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Proemio: '*per essere voi giovane assai, e di non molta esperienza (la quale mal se trova ove non sono gli anni) m'e' parso darvi questi pochi, brevi, e succinti ricordi, i quali quando da voi siano osservati e mesi in opera, spero in N.S. Dio, che la vita vostra sara' da un vero religioso cavaliere di San Giovanni*'.
- ¹²⁴ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo CXXXI.
- ¹²⁵ Bradford (ed. and trans.), *The Siege of Malta*, 147.
- ¹²⁶ Parisi, *L'idea*, 3, '*questo vecchio Giovane*'. cf. Shahar, 'The old body', 172.
- ¹²⁷ Parisi, *L'idea*, Preface: '*giovine sì di età, mà di senile prudenza*'.

- ¹²⁸ Parisi, *L'idea*, Preface: 'che con meraviglia di chiunque il conobbe, accoppiò in se stesso Sapere, e Valore, Giuditio, e Potere; efficacia nel dire, e prudenza nell'operare; avvedutezza nel comandare, esattezza nell'obbedire; grazia, ed honestà nel parlare; gravità, & efficacia nel conversare; religione, pietà, ossequio, munificenza, e quasi tutte le virtù nel vivere, e per fine un'animo bello, e vestito pure d'un bellissimo corpo.'
- ¹²⁹ Parisi, *L'idea*, 5.
- ¹³⁰ Scalletari, *Condotta*, 370, 'ben si giovane di 18 Anni, mà di spiriti generosissimi'.
- ¹³¹ *Avvenimento*, n.p.
- ¹³² Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 280–2.
- ¹³³ See Pasquinelli, *Il gesto*, 10–24.
- ¹³⁴ 'Nec Privatae Rei Consulit Qvi Rei Non Consulit'.
- ¹³⁵ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 220, n.p., 3 June 1661. Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, 41–2. N.L.M., A.O.M.95, f.266^v, 1592.
- ¹³⁶ Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, 491.
- ¹³⁷ See Wiesner, 'Wandervogels', 767; Roper, *Oedipus*, 118–9; Farr, *Hands*; Darnton, *The great cat massacre*, 79; Davis, *The war*, 110.
- ¹³⁸ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6676, ff.63^r–64^v, 6 April 1622, 'alcuni poveri vecchi del Consiglio'.
- ¹³⁹ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6676, ff.63^r–64^v, 6 April 1622, 'detto Gran Maestro ha havuto caristia di parole, . . . et e' talmente sbigottito che non usa pure di parlare'.
- ¹⁴⁰ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6676, ff.63^r–64^v, 6 April 1622, 'il pericolo d'una totale revolutione di tutto il convento'.
- ¹⁴¹ See Roper, *Oedipus*, 118–9.
- ¹⁴² See Shepard, 'From anxious', 6.
- ¹⁴³ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5324, f.266^v, c.1635, '[quando] gli minori portano la dovuta riverenza, e rispetto à maggiori, e questi proteggono e difendono quegli, nasce la vera Concordia'.
- ¹⁴⁴ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 97, ff.1^r, 29 August 1608.
- ¹⁴⁵ B.Ang., Ms.1216, ff.16^v–17^r, 12 September 1609.
- ¹⁴⁶ On the fluidity of the ageing process, see Atchley, *Social forces*, 132; Campbell, 'Introduction', 2–3.
- ¹⁴⁷ Matcha, *The sociology of aging*, 27–8. Cruikshank, *Learning to be old*, 9. Shepard, *Meanings*, 17, 221.
- ¹⁴⁸ Achenbaum, 'Ageing and changing', 22.
- ¹⁴⁹ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo CXXXIII. Ricci, 'Old age', 57–73.
- ¹⁵⁰ Parisi, *L'idea*, Preface. C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 250, n.p., 24 May 1684. B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6688, f.29^v, 20 August 1621. A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.51, ff.20^v, 30 January 1700, ff.34^r–35^r, 13 February 1700. See also Tabone, 'Tales', Chapter 5. Williams, 'Sad stories', 55–62.
- ¹⁵¹ Zammit Ciantar, *A Benedictine's notes*, 112.
- ¹⁵² Williams, 'Esgart', 9.
- ¹⁵³ Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 341–7. Riley-Smith, 'The Origins', 9–18.
- ¹⁵⁴ Bronstein, *The Hospitallers*, esp. chapter 2. Nisbet, 'Treasury records', 95–104. Hoppen, 'The finances', 103–19. Cachia, 'The Treasury', *passim*.
- ¹⁵⁵ Scott and Storrs, 'Introduction', 25. Cachia, 'The Treasury', 71.
- ¹⁵⁶ Mercieca, 'Aspects', 46–7.

- 157 B.A.N.L.C., Ms.39,B.13, f.270^r, 5 July 1568. A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.1, f.35^r, 3 May 1573; Ms.22, ff.13^r–16^r, 16 February 1667; Ms.31, f.23^r, 28 February 1680. C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 127, n.p., 13 September 1621. B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6688, ff.31^{rv}, 4 October 1621; Ms.6684, f.119^r, 29 November 1640.
- 158 Gattini, *I priorati*. Tacchella, *I cavalieri*. di Ricaldone, *Templari*. Arena, *Documenti*. Fonseca and D'Angela (eds.), *Gli archivi*. Devillers, *Inventaire analytique*. Lacour, *Index alphabétique*. Legras, *Les commanderies*. Thiou, *Dictionnaire biographique*. Vidal, *Le grand prieuré*. Appourhau, *La commanderie*. Gutierrez del Arroyo, *Catálogo*.
- 159 Sire, *The Knights*, 101–206.
- 160 Bartlett, *The making*, 125, 129–30. Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 341–71. Riley-Smith, 'The origins', 9–18.
- 161 Mercieca, 'Aspects', 78, 129–31. Grech, 'The Hospitaller Commandery', 65–88. Mifsud, 'The Commandery', 24–5.
- 162 Grech, 'The Hospitaller Commandery', 49–64.
- 163 de Visser, *La commenda*, 7–13, 38.
- 164 Ascani, *I cavalieri*, 5. For more case-studies about commanderies in Italy, see the works of Schiavone, Castellarin, Arena, and Giuffrida cited in the Bibliography.
- 165 Cachia, 'The Treasury', Glossary.
- 166 C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 249, n.p., 17 February 1684, '*la mia professione é di Confettiere . . . Io tengo bottega aperta sotto la loggia Avanti Palazzo . . . hora discorrono di Comende, e Baliaggi, hora di banchetti, et altri similie materie.*'
- 167 S.J.G., Box K23/2(7)–K24/1(8) Merle Collection, K23/2(xii), 20 September 1639.
- 168 B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6676, ff.57^{rv}, 24 November 1621.
- 169 S.J.G., Box K23/2(7)–K24/1(8) Merle Collection, K24/1(vi), 19 December 1646; Box K23/1–K24/2(6), K23/1(15), 22 October 1653.
- 170 *Istruzioni sopra gli obblighi*, Preface.
- 171 cf. Scott and Storrs, 'Introduction', 25. Hernández, 'Forging nobility', 179.
- 172 B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6688, f.37^r, 5 December 1622. N.L.M., Libr. Ms.413(1), 1–4, 1637.
- 173 S.J.G., Box K23/1–K24/2(6), K23/2(i), 1623–1636.
- 174 Sandri, 'Epoche e tipologie', 33.
- 175 *Statuta Hospitalis Hierusalem*, 162 (opposite), '*Vt Sol Cuncta Sic Oculis*'.
- 176 B.M.R., Ms.105, chapter 7, second half of the seventeenth century.
- 177 B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6700, Docs.30, 47, 1631.
- 178 Pozzo, *Historia*, 343, '*consumata la gioventù in viaggi, e caravane, sparso il sangue, e esposta in mille cimente la vita*'.
- 179 A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.2, f.168^r, 18 February 1588.
- 180 A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.2, f.178^r–179^r, 25 July 1588.
- 181 B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6689, fff.97^{rv}, 1624.
- 182 *Statuta Hospitalis Hierusalem*, 144 (opposite), '*Tanquam Omnia Possidentes, et Nihil Habentes*'. Hiesberger (ed.), *The Catholic Bible*, 1615.
- 183 Pasquinelli, *Il gesto*, 44–6, 51–6.
- 184 A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.103, f.216^r, Chapter General 1578. B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5036, 14, 1630.
- 185 Grech, 'The Hospitaller Commandery', 107–111.

- ¹⁸⁶ Bosio, *La corona*, 108. See also Micallef, *Lezioni*, 101–7, where he quotes Caravita on this issue.
- ¹⁸⁷ See Roper, *Oedipus*, 125. N.L.M., A.O.M.1679, 138–9, late seventeenth century.
- ¹⁸⁸ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 102, n.p., 30 April 1610, ‘*come luij tiene piu’ a charo de Godere una comenda buona per vinti anni, che godere il paradiso per tre annj*’.
- ¹⁸⁹ Vella, *The tribunal*, 23–5. Galea, *Grand Master Jean Levesque de la Cassiere*, 73–95. Testa, *Romegas*, 177–222.
- ¹⁹⁰ Pozzo, *Historia*, 179–80. Bonello, *Versions and diversions*, 70–1.
- ¹⁹¹ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.103, ff.216^v, Chapter General 1578, ‘*come sceleratissimi secolari si danno sfacciatamente alla libidine, alla avaritia, et avidita delle commende ... alzando le corna contra li superiori loro, principalmente proponemo ogni severo castigo fino ad usare contra da loro quando sia bisogno Il salutisero rimedio della incisione, come membri infetti, et putridi, accioche non corrompino il resto del corpo di questo sacro santo ordine*’.
- ¹⁹² A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.103, ff.217^v, Chapter General 1578.
- ¹⁹³ Pozzo, *Historia*, 180–1, ‘*accusandolo principalmente che l’età sua decrepita l’havea indebolito nel cervello*’.
- ¹⁹⁴ Vertot, *The history*, Vol. 2, 55–7.
- ¹⁹⁵ N.L.M., A.O.M.92, ff.219^v, 26 October 1570.
- ¹⁹⁶ In N.L.M., A.O.M.433, ff.218^v *et seq*, Romegas was described as being ambitious. Testa, *Romegas*, 134–6.
- ¹⁹⁷ Pozzo, *Historia*, 180–3.
- ¹⁹⁸ N.L.M., A.O.M.95, ff.268^v, 269^v, 275^f, 277^r. Bonello, *Versions and diversions*, 118.
- ¹⁹⁹ Pozzo, *Historia*, 194.
- ²⁰⁰ Testa, *Romegas*, 193.
- ²⁰¹ Pozzo, *Historia*, 188.
- ²⁰² Galea, *Grand Master Jean Levesque de la Cassiere*, 79.
- ²⁰³ Pozzo, *Historia*, 190, ‘*A i diletti Figliuoli il Convento ... GREGORIO PAPA XIII. Diletti Figlioli Salute, & Apostolica beneditione*’; 191, ‘*non era lecito al Consiglio di venir a quell’atto*’.
- ²⁰⁴ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.1, ff.73^r–96^r, 9 July 1581. Pozzo, *Historia*, 188. Prior to the conquest and settlement of Rhodes in 1309, the balance of power within the Order had tended to favour the Council; see Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 274.
- ²⁰⁵ Sterns, ‘Crime’, 110–1.
- ²⁰⁶ DeSilva, ‘Senators’, 154–73.
- ²⁰⁷ Mercieca, ‘The 1581 catastrophe’, 15. Pozzo, *Historia*, 195, ‘*fu tenuto nell’Isola per cosa prodigiosa*’.
- ²⁰⁸ Pozzo, *Historia*, 198–201.
- ²⁰⁹ Pozzo, *Historia*, 202–3. N.L.M., A.O.M.95 and 96, throughout, ‘*Questo si cancela p ordine di sua santita*’.
- ²¹⁰ Galea, *Grand Master Jean Levesque de la Cassiere*, 79. Galea, *Grand Master Hughes Loubenx de Verdalle*, 38–9.
- ²¹¹ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.6, ff.13^r–14^r, 29 May 1594.
- ²¹² A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.1, f.126^r, 12 November 1582.
- ²¹³ Testa, *Romegas*, 183.
- ²¹⁴ Mallia-Milanes, ‘From Valona’, 164–5. Grech, ‘The Hospitaller Commandery’, 107–111.

Chapter 3

- ¹ Thompson (ed.), *Collected works*, Vol. 40, 884.
- ² Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, Vol. 2, chapter 8, 60–1.
- ³ On the iconographic attributes of *Religio*, see Rapelli, *Simboli*, 22–7, 56–61; Giorgi, *Simboli*, 97–100, 156–7, 178–80, 282–6.
- ⁴ On Hospitaller faith in the Middle Ages, see Luttrell, *The Hospitaller state on Rhodes*, Paper No.9.
- ⁵ The ‘motto’ of the Order: ‘*Obsequium Pauperum et Tuitio Fidei*’. This was outlined in the first rule of the Order that was drawn up by Raymond de Puy in the first half of the twelfth century; see Scarabelli, ‘*Il ruolo*’, 36–7.
- ⁶ Two examples include Seward, *The monks of war*, and Sullivan, ‘Warriors monks: Christian’, Vol. 2, 1389–9.
- ⁷ Riley-Smith, ‘Introduction – Confraternal orders’, Vol. 1, 3–4.
- ⁸ Collet, ‘Monasticism’, Vol. 3, 78. Dreuille, *From East*, 114. Forey, ‘Introduction’, 2.
- ⁹ Luttrell, ‘The Rhodian background’, 4. Forey, ‘The military orders, 1120–1312’, 184–215. Luttrell, ‘The military orders’, 86.
- ¹⁰ Sire, *The Knights*, 212. Sandri, ‘Epoche’, 29. Luttrell and Nicholson, ‘Introduction’, 4. Riley-Smith, ‘Towards a history of military–religious orders’, 269–84.
- ¹¹ Nicholson, *The Knights*, 18–22.
- ¹² Barber, *The new knighthood*, 39.
- ¹³ Hiesberger (ed.), *The Catholic Bible*, 1643. Allen Smith, ‘Saints’, 576–82. Scarabelli, *Linee di spiritualità*, 31–2. Fumagalli Beonio Brocchieri, *Cristiani*, 5–8, 10.
- ¹⁴ See Chambers, *Popes*.
- ¹⁵ Fumagalli Beonio Brocchieri, *Cristiani*, 23–6. Green, ‘St. Benedict of Nursia’, Vol. 1, 130. Robinson, ‘Gregory VII’, 177–8, 182–3, 190–2. Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 8–9. Greenia, (ed.), *Bernard of Clairvaux*. Hiesberger (ed.), *The Catholic Bible*, 1497. Riley-Smith, ‘The military–religious orders’, 7–8.
- ¹⁶ Barber, *The new knighthood*, 38–63. On attitudes towards the crusades more widely, see Siberry, *Criticism*. See also ‘*Militia Christi*’ e crociata nei secoli XI–XIII; Cardini, ‘Gli ordini’, 49–63; Reuter, ‘*Episcopi*’, 79–94.
- ¹⁷ O’Donnell, *Erasmus – Enchiridion*, ix, 41, 55. On the great impact and popularity of the *Enchiridion* across Europe, see Burke, ‘Cultures of translation’, 37; Eire, ‘Early modern Catholic piety’, 93.
- ¹⁸ Fumagalli Beonio Brocchieri, *Cristiani*, 55–64. Housley, ‘The common’, 109–10, 115, 119.
- ¹⁹ Backhouse (ed.), *The spiritual exercises*, 1. Lewis, ‘Spiritual exercises’, 430–33. Brunelli, *Soldati*, 11–17, 118–21.
- ²⁰ Scupoli, *Combattimento, inter alia* 2, ‘*supremo Capitano*’, 222, ‘*Soldato novello di Christo*’.
- ²¹ Scupoli, *Combattimento*, 333, *et seq.* On Scupoli’s work and for a discussion of the theme of the ‘Soldier of Christ’ in a missionary setting, see Alberts, ‘Conflict’, chap.6.
- ²² Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo CXX.
- ²³ Parisi, *L’Idea*, Censor’s Note and 146.

- ²⁴ Zondadari, *Breve*, 5, 60–9.
- ²⁵ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.103, f.216^r, Chapter General 1578. B.M.R., Ms.31, 39, 476, 1647.
- ²⁶ Sarnowsky, 'Regional problems', 1–19. See also Burgtorf and Nicholson, 'Preface', xiii–xiv.
- ²⁷ Donnelly, 'New religious orders', 162–79.
- ²⁸ Andreu, 'Chierici Regolari', 907–8.
- ²⁹ Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 41, 331. Toumanoff and Rocca, 'Sovrano', Vol. 8, 1941. Fisichella, 'La cavalleria', 3. Mallia-Milanes, 'A pilgrimage', 83–4.
- ³⁰ B.A.V., Barb.Lat., Ms.5200, ff.232^v–233³, 1574–1575. The Valletta Holy Infirmary started being built in late 1574 and was completed four years later. Changes to the original structure were carried out over the subsequent years; see Savona-Ventura, *Knight Hospitaller medicine*, 90–1.
- ³¹ N.L.M., A.O.M.293, f.51^r, 1597, '*quae in nro Conventuali Xenodochio et Sacra Infermeria Dnis nris infirmis et Christi pauperibus una cum elemosynaru publica et consueta distributione tam Melitae quam alibi extra continuo praestantur*'. A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.103, f.216^r, Chapter General, 1578, '*custode delli poveri di Gesu Christo*'. S.J.G., Box K23/2(7)–K24/1(8) Merle Collection, K23/6, n.p., 18 January 1633, '*Frater Antonius de Paula Dei gratia Sacrae Domus Hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Hierosolymitani et militaris Ordinis Sancti Sepulchri Dominici magister humilis pauperumque Iesu Christi custos*'.
- ³² B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5036, 3, 1630.
- ³³ On the concept of *Christus Medicus*, see Henderson, 'Healing the body', 191–2. See also Gélis, 'Le corps', 35–7.
- ³⁴ '*Infirmis Servire Firmissimum Regnare*'.
- ³⁵ For a parallel to the Holy Infirmary, see Henderson, 'Healing the body', 188–216.
- ³⁶ Pasquinelli, *Il gesto*, 75–82.
- ³⁷ On abandoned children, see A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.103, f.218^r, 1578.
- ³⁸ On the importance of considering the double vocation of the military–religious orders, see Richard, 'Introduction', xxi–xxii.
- ³⁹ For examples of such allegories, see Savona-Ventura, *Knight Hospitaller medicine*, 70. Corti, Amendolagine and Doglioni, (eds.), *Lungo il tragitto*, 200.
- ⁴⁰ Giorgio, *The image*, 11, 137–8.
- ⁴¹ Goussancourt, *Le martyrologe*.
- ⁴² Boselli, 'Poesie', 79, '*I Militi di CRISTO, e figli suoi; Apriro a morte voluntaria i cuori*'. This contrasts with what Dutra claims for the Order of Christ; Dutra, 'Membership', 3–25.
- ⁴³ Bonello, *Convictions and conjectures*, 33.
- ⁴⁴ Bonello, *Ventures and adventures*, 176. The painting is now in the refectory of the Franciscans' Monastery, in Rabat, Malta.
- ⁴⁵ Mifsud (ed.), *Le disavventure*, 41.
- ⁴⁶ See Rex, 'Blessed Adrian', 307–52, esp. 307 n.1, 325, 338–9, 341–9. O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 218.
- ⁴⁷ On the various attempts to re-instate the English *langue*, see: A.R.S.I., Ms.Sic.12II, f.295^r, 1 January 1639; Scalletari, *Condotta*, 394–7; Allen, 'Attempts to revive', 939–52.

- ⁴⁸ B.A.N.L.C., Ms.39,B.13, ff.270^r–274^r, 5 July 1568. A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.1, ff.31^{rv}, 30 May 1572.
- ⁴⁹ See Spiteri, 'A Sala d'Armi', 127.
- ⁵⁰ On the popularity of the theme of martyrdom throughout early modern Europe, see: Bailey, 'The Jesuits and painting', 158; Ditchfield, 'An early Christian', 192–3; Padrón, 'The blood', 515–37. On martyrdom during the Middle Ages, see Ormrod, 'Monarchy', 174–191. For a survey of martyrdom in early modern Europe, see Gregory, *Salvation*, and 'Persecutions', 261–82.
- ⁵¹ Gallonio, *De sanctorum*, 1, 376. This was first published as *Trattato degli instrumenti di martirio* in 1591, with the first Latin edition in 1594; see Ditchfield, 'An early', 192. On the other hand, the most popular book about martyrdom in Protestant countries was John Foxe's *Actes and monuments [Book of martyrs]*, (first edn. 1559).
- ⁵² Hiesberger (ed.), *The Catholic Bible*, 612–51, 651–77. On the equating of the Maccabees with martyrdom, see Gregory, *Salvation*, 67, 109, 123, 157, 177, 221, 280.
- ⁵³ Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 32.
- ⁵⁴ B.M.R., Ms.31, 476, 1647; 'niuno puo aver maggior carità, che disporre l'Anima, cioe la vita p l'Amici, cioe Cattolici'. Mifsud (ed.), *Le disavventure*, 39.
- ⁵⁵ N.L.M., A.O.M.1697, f.4^r, 1670.
- ⁵⁶ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5353, f.45^r, 1668.
- ⁵⁷ N.L.M., A.O.M.1697, ff.5^v–6^r, 1670. Hiesberger (ed.), *The Catholic Bible*, 1322–3.
- ⁵⁸ Sebregondi, 'L'Ordine in posa', 95–6.
- ⁵⁹ Tenenti, *Piracy*, 32–55. Mallia-Milanes, 'Corsairs', 103. Mallia-Milanes, 'Images of the other', 63–76.
- ⁶⁰ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.1, ff.14^{rv}, 21 January 1580.
- ⁶¹ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 139, n.p., 5 October 1629. For an extensive discussion of the interactions between Greeks and Hospitallers see Greene, *Catholic*, chaps 4–7.
- ⁶² Pagden and Lawrance (eds.), *Francisco de Vitoria*, xxvi–xxvii, 295. Riley-Smith, *The crusades*, 297–8.
- ⁶³ Wright, 'The military orders', 34–70. Dutra, 'Membership', 3–25. Olival, 'Structural changes' (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography).
- ⁶⁴ Noue, *Discours*, 218, 245. Hale, 'Sixteenth-century explanations', 21. Hale, *War and society*, 139. Sandberg, 'Through naval practice', 223.
- ⁶⁵ N.L.M., A.O.M.293, f.51^r, Chapter General 1597. See also Mussetto, 'Castelli d'Outremer', 109.
- ⁶⁶ On the Papacy and Islam, see Wright, *The early modern papacy*, 208–11.
- ⁶⁷ 'Melita Obsidione Liberatur'. For a reproduction of this map, see Gambi, *The gallery*, 198–201.
- ⁶⁸ Fiorani, 'Post-Tridentine', 139. Gambi, *The gallery*, 198–201.
- ⁶⁹ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.22, ff.305^r–306^v, 26 February 1667, 'Malta Antemurale dell'Italia'. See also Freller, *Malta and the Grand Tour*, 30; Greene, *Catholic*, 95–8.
- ⁷⁰ Scarabelli, *Catalogue*, 35.
- ⁷¹ Luttrell, 'The military orders', 83.
- ⁷² Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 250–1.

- ⁷³ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo II.
- ⁷⁴ Scarabelli, 'L'Assistenza', 101–5.
- ⁷⁵ See S.J.G., Box K24/1(9)–K24/4(10) Merle Collection, K24/3(iii), 27 December 1647.
- ⁷⁶ N.L.M., A.O.M.89, f.93^v, 1556. Bosio, *Historia*, Vol. 3, 376. cf. Gentilcore, *From bishop*, 194.
- ⁷⁷ *Copia d'una lettera*, (Malta and Rome, c.1565). B.A.V., Barb.Lat. Ms.6694, f.53^r, 26 August 1625.
- ⁷⁸ B.A.V., Barb.Lat. Ms.6693, f.3^r, 24 November 1623.
- ⁷⁹ B.A.V., Barb.Lat. Ms.6693, f.57^r, 1631.
- ⁸⁰ The Cardinal Barberini referred to here was most probably Antonio Barberini, but this is not explicitly stated. B.A.V., Barb.Lat. Ms.6689, f.377^r, 27 April 1636.
- ⁸¹ S.J.G., Box K24/1(9)–K24/4(10) Merle Collection, K24/3(iii), 27 December 1647.
- ⁸² Calnan, *Knights in durance*, 16–19, 28–33, 52.
- ⁸³ The importance of the Cross was emphasized in Session 22 of the Council of Trent, which dealt with the 'Teaching and canons on the most holy sacrifice of the mass'; Tanner (ed.), *Decrees*, Vol. 2, 732–4, chapters 1 and 2, 'the altar of the Cross'. See also Debono, *Imago Dei*.
- ⁸⁴ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5333, f.138^r, 'cristo io ti dimando che riguardi il tuo popolo e, me tuo servo, perdoni a questa gente, che non sanno quello che fanno'. A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.1, ff.80^r–81^r, 12 July 1581. Hiesberger (ed.), *The Catholic Bible*, 1464.
- ⁸⁵ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5333, f.138^r, 'Cum gladijs et fustibj vos venistis me compondere'. Hiesberger (ed.), *The Catholic Bible*, 1410, 1462.
- ⁸⁶ Webster, *Art and ritual*, 68, 89.
- ⁸⁷ N.L.M., A.O.M.259, ff.107^v–108^r, January 1654. Bonello, *Closures and disclosures*, 70–1.
- ⁸⁸ C.A.M., Misc. Vol. 176, f.884^r, 1693.
- ⁸⁹ Rubin, *Corpus*, chapter 1.
- ⁹⁰ 'In Devm Pietas Doceat Manus ad Praelium.' Hiesberger (ed.), *The Catholic Bible*, 823.
- ⁹¹ On the nature of the Eucharist in Catholic doctrine after the Council of Trent, see Wandel, *The Eucharist*, chapter 5 and Conclusion. On the genesis and developments of the feast of *Corpus Christi* see Rubin, *Corpus*, esp. chapters 3 and 4.
- ⁹² Giorgi, *Simboli*, 48, 64, 187–93.
- ⁹³ In the *Statuta Hospitalis Hierusalem*, (1588), Grand Master Verdalle's portrait is flanked by Religion and by St George. See also: N.L.M., A.O.M.1697, ff.4^r, 1670. Libr. Ms. 1416, n.p., 1689. B.M.R., Ms.67, f.8, 1754. Just before the Preface in Parisi, *L'Idea*, there is an image of St George slaying the dragon. On the nature of the cult of St George, see Riches, 'St George', 65–85. On the evolution of warrior saints, see Benvenuti, 'I santi', 35–47.
- ⁹⁴ Corti, 'Santi ed eroi', 201. For stylistic considerations about saintly images venerated in the Order, see Borg, 'Portraits', 29–41.
- ⁹⁵ Bosio, *Le immagini*.
- ⁹⁶ Corti, 'Santi ed eroi', 203–4. Dimech, *The saints and blessed*, reproduces a series of paintings of the Order's saints and blessed, the iconography of which recalls the

- prints in Bosio's *Le immagini* but no information about their commissioning and production is provided.
- ⁹⁷ Bosio, *Le immagini*, 37, 63, 80–81.
- ⁹⁸ On the ways in which religion could accommodate new saints, see Christian, *Local religion*, 175. On the spread of the cults of new Counter-Reformation saints among the Hospitallers, see Buhagiar, 'The treasure', 125.
- ⁹⁹ Burke, 'How to be', 129–42.
- ¹⁰⁰ Johnson, 'Everyone', 206–24. Ditchfield, 'Tridentine worship', 201–26.
- ¹⁰¹ On St Francis Xavier, see Bireley, *The Refashioning*, 164–5; Wright, *The Jesuits*, 2, 3, 6, 7, 68–71; Selwyn, *A paradise*, 105–10.
- ¹⁰² Leanza, *I Gesuiti*, 14–15.
- ¹⁰³ On St Francis Xavier's fame as a healing saint, see Johnson, 'Blood', 195. Hsia, *The world*, 129. Scarabelli, *Catalogue*, 38–9. A.R.S.I., Ms.Sic.12II, f.317r, 17 February 1639.
- ¹⁰⁴ Galea, *The Jesuit Church*, 13. Spike, 'Documento inedito', n.p. Scarabelli, *Catalogue*, 123. A.S.V., Ms.50, ff.326^v, December 1699.
- ¹⁰⁵ On the wider strength, variety and complexity of Marian devotion, see Rubin, *Mother of God*, esp. parts V and VI.
- ¹⁰⁶ Spagnoletti, *Stato*, 33. These were in fact the only three objects that the last Grand Master of the Order in Malta, Ferdinand von Hompesch (1797–1802), took with him in exile after Malta fell to Napoleon in June 1798.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ferraris de Celle, *La Madonna*. Buhagiar, 'The miraculous image', 97–113.
- ¹⁰⁸ Borg (ed.), *Marian devotions*, 80–1.
- ¹⁰⁹ See Gentilcore, *From bishop*, 7–8, 120. Giorgi, *Simboli*, 219–21. Freedberg, *The power of images*, 136–60.
- ¹¹⁰ On the widespread devotion among seafarers towards the Virgin Mary, see Gertwagen, 'The emergence', 149–61.
- ¹¹¹ Zarb, *Żabbar Sanctuary*, Foreword.
- ¹¹² Borg, *The Maritime ex-voto*, 12–13.
- ¹¹³ Karras, 'Knighthood', 276–7.
- ¹¹⁴ Bireley, *The refashioning*, 109–13.
- ¹¹⁵ Lewis, 'Becoming a virgin king', 87.
- ¹¹⁶ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo CXII.
- ¹¹⁷ N.L.M., A.O.M.1697, ff.2^{rv}, 1670, 'Poiche con la previdenza che voi havete ispirata ai vostri divoti institutori mi dovrebbe esser assai facile di ritrovare nelle constitutioni da loro lasciateci precetti e documenti Capici ad insegnarmi il mio dovere'. Libr. Ms. 1416, n.p., 1689.
- ¹¹⁸ N.L.M., A.O.M.1697, ff.6^r–7^v, 1670, 'per instruire nella giustitia affinche l'huomo di Dio diventi perfetto essendo preparato à tutte le buone opere per il che non altro ci savanza à desiderare salvo che questo divin seme posù produrre un tale effetto nel cuore del Cavalliere di San Giovanni di Gierusalemme con quella vivacita e forza che egli è capace di comunicare alle sue riflessioni perciò che doppo essersi egli stesso vivamente imbibito della grandezza e doveri del suo stato egli possa farne concepire gli istessi sentimenti e stima à tutti i suoi confratelli.'
- ¹¹⁹ Smith, 'Up in arms', 218–9.
- ¹²⁰ The painting is today housed in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inventory number GG_993; for a reproduction, refer to its website (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography).

- ¹²¹ Smith, 'Up in arms', 222–3.
- ¹²² Bueren, 'The art treasures', 221–2. Visser, *La commenda*, 47–64.
- ¹²³ Sciberras, *Roman baroque sculpture*, 51.
- ¹²⁴ Azzopardi (ed.), *The Order's early legacy*, 38–9. Buhagiar, 'The treasure', 47–9.
- ¹²⁵ On St John's Church, see Giorgio, *The Conventual*, esp. 26–50, 57–64, 134–6, 141.
- ¹²⁶ Sciberras, *Roman baroque sculpture*, 51. Sciberras, *Baroque painting*, 114–20.
- ¹²⁷ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6676, ff.36^v, 13 July 1613. Paciaudi, *De cultu*, 324–5.
- ¹²⁸ Schama, *Power of art*, 65–70. For a reproduction refer to St John's co-Cathedral website (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography). On the role of the Oratory as a place where Hospitallers were judged by their peers see chapter 5, 179–81.
- ¹²⁹ N.L.M., A.O.M.262, f.242^v, 1672–1686. Sciberras, *Roman baroque sculpture*, 85. Sciberras, *Baroque painting*, 150–6.
- ¹³⁰ On relics and the power of wonder, see Daston and Park, *Wonders*, 69, 74. See also Gélis, 'Le corps', 78–101.
- ¹³¹ Tanner (ed.), *Decrees*, Vol. 2, 774–6. Christian, *Local religion*, 126–40. Eden, 'Christian monastic relics', Vol. 2, 1071–4.
- ¹³² N.L.M., A.O.M.1446, ff.30^v, 1677–1678. Sciberras, *Roman baroque sculpture*, 80. Montgomery, 'Introduction', 1–6.
- ¹³³ Davis, *The gift*, 5. See also Carrió-Invernizzi, 'Gift', 882.
- ¹³⁴ B.A.V., Barb. Lat. Ms.5036, 53, 1630. N.L.M., A.O.M.58, f.75^r, 14 April 1639. N.L.M., Libr.Ms.271, f.27. Sternberg, 'Epistolary ceremonial', 50.
- ¹³⁵ Tondini Di Quarenghi, 'Barnabites', (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography).
- ¹³⁶ Grima, *Żmien*, 71.
- ¹³⁷ Donnelly, 'Religious orders', Vol. 3, 414.
- ¹³⁸ A corrective account to this neglect is Allen, 'Grand Master Lascaris', 283–97.
- ¹³⁹ Allen, 'Grand Master Lascaris', 283.
- ¹⁴⁰ Allen, 'The social and religious world', 156.
- ¹⁴¹ Allen, 'Some Carmelite influences', 271–3, '*Il cavaliere romito*'.
- ¹⁴² Busuttil, 'The Discalced Carmelites', 376.
- ¹⁴³ See Bonaventura Fiorini, 'Le relazioni', 68–74; Williams, 'Sad stories', 61–2.
- ¹⁴⁴ O'Malley, *The first Jesuits*, chapter 1. Zarri, 'Gender', 205. Strasser, *State*, 150. O'Malley, 'Jesuits', Vol. 2, 336. Bireley, *The Jesuits*, 61. Allen, 'Anti-Jesuit rioting', 5–9.
- ¹⁴⁵ A.R.S.I., Ms.Sic.183/I, ff.273^v, 1609; Ms.Vitae 104, ff.235^v, late seventeenth century. A.R.S.I., Ms.Sic.196, ff.134^r–141^r, 1593. See also Borg, *The Maltese Diocese*, 57–71.
- ¹⁴⁶ Allen, 'The social and religious world', 147–57. Allen, 'The Order of St John and Cromwell's navy', 150–1.
- ¹⁴⁷ On the conversion of Prince Friedrich von Hessen, see Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, 60–7; Galea, *German Knights*, 51–9; Allen, 'Anti-Jesuit rioting', 4, 26–7. On the conversion of Maometto Attesi, see A.R.S.I., Ms.Vitae 104, f.236^r, late seventeenth century. On the significance of baptism in defining confessional boundaries and religious identities, see Tingle, 'The conversion', 255–74. On the historiography of conversion see Juneja and Siebenhüner, 'Introduction', 169–90.
- ¹⁴⁸ Andreu, 'Chierici Regolari', Vol. 2, 897–909.
- ¹⁴⁹ Pozzo, *Historia*, 483–4.

- ¹⁵⁰ Allen, 'Grand Master Lascaris', 287.
- ¹⁵¹ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P. Vol. 171, Case 210, n.p., 17 January 1657.
- ¹⁵² Mifsud (ed.), *Le disavventure*, 90. Mallia-Milanes, *Descrittione*, 98.
- ¹⁵³ A.R.S.I., Ms.Vitae 104, ff.231^r, 234^r, late seventeenth century. *Inter alia*: C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P. Vol. 169, Case 80, ff.1^r-4^r, 7 September 1604; Vol. 169, Case 84, n.p., 27 December 1605; Vol. 170, Case 117, n.p., 6 September 1618; Vol. 170, Case 120, ff.1^r-5^v, 28-29 February 1618.
- ¹⁵⁴ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.103, ff.216^r-217^v, 1578.
- ¹⁵⁵ B.Vall., Ms.L23, f.66^r, c.1590.
- ¹⁵⁶ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.22, f.306^v, 1667, '*astretti da quel vincolo di carità*'.
- ¹⁵⁷ Vertot, *The history*, Vol. 2, Book 9, 57-59. Koenigsberger, Mosse and Bowler, *Europe*, 235-41. Nicholson, *The Knights*, 117-20.
- ¹⁵⁸ Wright, 'The Military Orders', 575-6.
- ¹⁵⁹ Rödel, 'Catholic', 34-41.
- ¹⁶⁰ Maier, 'Strategies', 355-64.
- ¹⁶¹ Miltizer, 'Introduction', 7. Maier, 'Strategies', 359.
- ¹⁶² On the role of the Inquisition in early modern societies and reactions to it, see: Davidson, 'Rome', 16-36; Haliczzer, *Inquisition and society*; Kagan, *Lucrecia's dreams*; Kamen, *The Spanish inquisition*; Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition*; Brambilla, *La giustizia*; Del Col, *L'Inquisizione*; Monter, 'The Mediterranean', 283-301; Black, *The Italian inquisition*; Bethencourt, *The Inquisition*. On the Inquisition in Malta see Bonnici, *Medieval and Roman*; Cassar, *Witchcraft*; Cassar, *Society*; Ciappara, *Society*.
- ¹⁶³ Prosperi, *Tribunali*, 218. Ciappara, *Society*, 57-65.
- ¹⁶⁴ The other 26 cases were not consulted either because they were unavailable or because they were in a very poor condition and illegible.
- ¹⁶⁵ Cassar, 'The inquisition index', 157-96.
- ¹⁶⁶ On the uses and importance of trial records for historians, see Hanawalt, *Growing up*, 6; Cohen and Cohen, *Words*, 4-7; Griffiths, *Youth*, 10; Rocke, *Forbidden friendships*, 7-10; Rublack, *The crimes*, 2-3; Neal, 'Suits', 1, 13; Shepard, *Meanings*, 12; Mulholland, 'Introduction', 14; Storey, *Carnal commerce*, 8-11.
- ¹⁶⁷ For a discussion of the arguments for and against the use of trial records by historians, see the contributions in Muir and Ruggiero (eds.), *History from crime*, esp. the Introduction and Afterword; and the contributions in Peyronel Rambaldi (ed.), *I Tribunali*. See also Cohen and Cohen, *Words*, 1-33; Laven, 'Testifying', 147-58. Black, *The Italian inquisition*, x-xi.
- ¹⁶⁸ The following data are based on my own research and the catalogue produced by Cassar, 'The inquisition index', 157-96.
- ¹⁶⁹ Cassar, 'The first decades', 227. Cassar, 'The Reformation', 52-3, 59, 66. Borg, *The Maltese Diocese*, 29-44.
- ¹⁷⁰ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.814, ff.178^r-179^r, 1545.
- ¹⁷¹ Cherubelli, *Il contributo*, 366. McPartlin, 'The Order of Malta', 133-40.
- ¹⁷² A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.103, f.220^v, Chapter General 1578. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees*, Vol. 2, 783-4, Session 25, Chapter 22, 'The holy council commands that each and all of the directions in the above decrees be observed in all the convents and monasteries . . . even those living under the government of military orders including that of Jerusalem'.
- ¹⁷³ Freller, *St Paul's grotto*, 91, 101.

- ¹⁷⁴ C.A.M., Misc.213, ff.22, 31.
- ¹⁷⁵ Kalas, 'Nobility', Vol. 3, 148–50. Sandberg, 'The infection', 17–26.
- ¹⁷⁶ On the loose use of the term/label 'Lutheran' in Italy, see Black, *The Italian inquisition*, 134, 146.
- ¹⁷⁷ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 64, ff.1^{rv}, 24 July 1593. On the wide-ranging confusion generated by the Reformation in France, see Randall, 'Masculinity', 211–31, esp. 214–24. See also Crouzet, *Les guerriers*; Diefendorf, *Beneath*, 176–80; Diefendorf, 'The Religious Wars', 150–68. On the Huguenots in France see Mentzer and Spicer (eds.), *Society*.
- ¹⁷⁸ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 66, ff.1^{rv}, 19 December 1597.
- ¹⁷⁹ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 142, n.p., 6 May 1630, '*e disse al comito [l']nell'altro mondo vederemo si è come dicemum[l']*'.
- ¹⁸⁰ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 142, n.p., 6 May 1630.
- ¹⁸¹ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 204, n.p., 16 April 1654.
- ¹⁸² See Black, *The Italian inquisition*, 162–9. On the control of books by the Roman Inquisition, see Bethencourt, *The Inquisition*, 234–6.
- ¹⁸³ On the popularity of the Koran in Europe, both as a sacred, if polemical text, and as collectable item, see Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān*. On Frà Baylin's library, see Giuffrida, *La Sicilia*, 55–9, 203–8.
- ¹⁸⁴ See Clark, *Thinking*, 217–20; Sharpe, 'Magic', 440–3.
- ¹⁸⁵ See Cassar, *Witchcraft*, 58–9, 93–6.
- ¹⁸⁶ On exposure to Islam in Italy, see Black, *The Italian inquisition*, 149–53. See also Plakotos, 'Christian', 125–45. On exposure to Christianity in Muslim lands, particularly the Maghreb, see Matar, *Europe*, 5, *et seq.* See also Michel, 'Jesuit writings', 73–6.
- ¹⁸⁷ On the fear of Islam among Christian societies in the Mediterranean, see Taylor, 'The enemy', 78–99.
- ¹⁸⁸ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 83, n.p., 8 August 1605, '*vole andar a farsi turco*'. On the term 'Turk' see Soykut, *Image*, xi; Salzmann, 'A travelogue', 158–9.
- ¹⁸⁹ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 176, n.p., 22 October 1643.
- ¹⁹⁰ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 91, ff.1^v–2^r, 20 December 1607.
- ¹⁹¹ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo LVI.
- ¹⁹² C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 170, n.p., 29 January 1641, '*[']Io s'havessi cento schiavi li vorrei prima abbrugiare che farli Xpiani[l']*'.
- ¹⁹³ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo VII.
- ¹⁹⁴ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 85, f.1^r, 20 October 1606, '*malhagia a Croce*'. C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 234, n.p., 19 December 1674, '*se Dio non ci porta a' Malta, il diavolo ci porterà*'.
- ¹⁹⁵ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 174, n.p., 28 November 1642, '*Il Papa no poteva escomunicare il Re*'; C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 205, n.p., 13 May 1654, '*[']che la facolta del Pontefice non era sussistente perche non si legeva che Christo nostro Sig^{re} gl'haveva dato le chiavi del Paradiso ma solo con la parola[l']*'.
- ¹⁹⁶ For a summary of Frà Gabriel DuBois de la Ferté's life, see Engel, *Knights of Malta*, 54–61. See also Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*, 75.
- ¹⁹⁷ Allen, 'Some Carmelite influences', 274–6.
- ¹⁹⁸ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 256, n.p., 6 October 1689, '*[']Che credete che sia il Papa e' un huomo come noi, e defensore delli heretici[l']*'.

- 199 C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 256, n.p., 6 October 1689, '*di poco cervello, e per lo piu e' ubriago*'.
- 200 Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza*, 214.
- 201 C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 71, ff.1^r–8^v, 28 December 1599, '*l'Inquis^{re} la tengo in cima della testa ma l'inquis^{re} lo tengo sotto i piedi*'.
- 202 C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 168, Case 23, ff.1^r–3^r, 21 May 1601.
- 203 C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 107, n.p., 5 May 1612.
- 204 C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 88, n.p., 19 April 1607.
- 205 C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 100, ff.1^r–4^v, 17 March 1609.
- 206 C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 228, n.p., 3 March 1665, '*conosco haver fatto male ... ne chiedo humilmente a Dio perdono facendo istanza*'.
- 207 On 'spontaneous appearances' see Black, *The Italian inquisition*, 60–3.
- 208 C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 72, ff.1^r^v, 25 January 1599.
- 209 C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 168, Case 24, n.p., March 1604.
- 210 C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 210, n.p., 18 February 1656, '*il fra serviente Gonò, o sia Gonò, il quale poco tempo fa si trovava schiavo appresso Infedeli, in presentia sua haver detto che Iddio nostro Sig^{re} piu si compiace che una Donna si faccia conoscere carnalm^{re} che resti Vergine*'.
- 211 C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 188, n.p., 24 September 1647.
- 212 C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 180, n.p., 18 March 1644; Vol. 170, Case 178, n.p., 12 September 1643; Vol. 171, Case 223, n.p., 12 October 1663; Vol. 171, Case 259(2), n.p., 13 February 1696.
- 213 C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 171, n.p., 23 July 1641, '*il d^e sciaverio era stato canonizzato con scritture false*'.
- 214 C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 168, Case 22, ff.1–9, 16 September 1602.
- 215 C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 248, n.p., 5 April 1684.
- 216 C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 187, n.p., 13 July 1647, '*detto cavalier sciagliu nel ragionare, disse che in francia, o' havesse detto nel suo paese vi e' liberta' di coscienza, dicendo che gli piaceva che la persona non sia constretta e soggiense, o' mi dispiace, o' no fa buono il s. officio, che costringe le persone*'.
- 217 On the debates about the differences and similarities between elite and popular culture and religion, see: Samuel, 'People's history', xv–xxxiv; Burke, 'People's history', 4–9; Burke, 'The 'discovery' of popular culture', 216–26; Davis 'From 'popular religion'', 326–30; Muchembled, *Popular culture*, Harline, 'Official religion', 239–62; Gentilcore, *From bishop*, 2–4; Clark, *Thinking*, 457–545. Burke, 'Popular religion', Vol. 3, 295–6; Forster, *Catholic revival*, 210; Frijhoff, 'Popular religion', Vol. 7, 185–207; Duffy, 'Elite and popular religion', 140–61; Johnson, 'Everyone', 208–11.
- 218 On the various debates in late medieval and early modern Europe about magic, the supernatural, the divine and the demonic, see Daston and Park, *Wonders*, 93–4, 123, 128–9. On the Inquisition's sceptical attitude towards witchcraft, see Black, *The Italian Inquisition*, 231–5. For an overview of the historiography of witchcraft, see Gaskill, 'The pursuit', 1069–88.
- 219 Cassar, *Witchcraft*, 8–9, 52. See also Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 269.
- 220 *Inter alia*: C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 159, n.p., 18 October 1633.
- 221 O'Neil, 'Magical healing', 91.

- ²²² Love magic will be dealt with in chapter 4, and gambling magic will be dealt with in chapter 5.
- ²²³ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 74, f.1^r, 27 September 1600.
- ²²⁴ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 150, n.p., 7 May 1633.
- ²²⁵ O'Neil, 'Magical healing', 94. Ruggiero, *Binding passions*, 147–66. See also Black, *The Italian Inquisition*, 245–50.
- ²²⁶ Bethencourt, 'Portugal', 411. Labouvie, 'Men in witchcraft trials', 54.
- ²²⁷ On female healers in Malta, see Cassar, *Witchcraft*, 32–6.
- ²²⁸ Porter, 'The patient's view', 175–98. Porter (ed.), *Patients and practitioners*. Gentilcore, 'The fear of disease', 192. Gentilcore, *Healers and healing*. Park, 'Medicine and magic', 131–2. Musacchio, 'Lambs', 156. Cassar, 'Medical pluralism', 44–8. Zimmerman, 'The diseased body', 406–7. Pardo-Tomás and Martínez-Vidal, 'Stories of disease', 467–91.
- ²²⁹ On paying for cures in Venice, see Bamji, 'Religion and disease', 7–21, 232–3.
- ²³⁰ Hinnels and Porter, 'Introduction', xi.
- ²³¹ On the activities of Hospitaller hospitals in Florence and Tuscany, see Henderson, *The Renaissance hospital*, 9, 32, 42, 188.
- ²³² On men and witchcraft, see Kent, 'Masculinity and male witches', 70–1; Apps and Gow, *Male witches*; Rowlands, 'Not 'the usual suspects'?', 1–30.
- ²³³ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 168, n.p., 26 October 1640. Vol. 171, Case 196, n.p., 8 July 1650.
- ²³⁴ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 61, f.1^r, 27 November 1589, '*Il quale diceva certi paroli sancti et boni servendosj de una virga de salici et faceva detto una missa ad un santo divino al Inferno*'. Ruggiero, *Binding passions*, 149.
- ²³⁵ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 182, n.p., 29 January 1644.
- ²³⁶ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 172, n.p., 4 July 1642.
- ²³⁷ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 168, Case 26, ff.18^{rv}, 31 December 1605.
- ²³⁸ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 115, n.p., 9 April 1616. Vol. 170, Case 179, n.p., 27 June 1643. Vol. 170, Case 183, n.p., 3 December 1645.
- ²³⁹ Balzan, *Jewellery*, 56–61.
- ²⁴⁰ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 135, n.p., 8 February 1624, '*Jesus fuit crucifixus*', '*Jesus fuit mortuus*', '*Jesus fuit sepultus*'.
- ²⁴¹ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 232, n.p., 8 August 1672.
- ²⁴² C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 168, Case 26, ff.1^{rv}, 25 June 1605.
- ²⁴³ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 221, n.p., 24 May 1662, '*Per ☩ Hoc Signum libera nos Deus Noster*'.
- ²⁴⁴ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 221, n.p., 24 May 1662.
- ²⁴⁵ On ideas about fear and ways to address it in early modern Europe, see Roberts and Naphy, 'Introduction', 1–8.
- ²⁴⁶ On the saturation of culture by religion, see Gentilcore, *From bishop*, 6, 10, and Johnson, 'Blood', 185.
- ²⁴⁷ For a comparison with the Knights of St Stephen, see Burgalassi, 'La "Religione"', 164–5.
- ²⁴⁸ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.22, ff.135^r–16^r, 16 February 1667, '*Che il Consiglio è composto di Gente più avvezza a far il soldato, che altro, pero non si deve alcuno marivigliare se talvolta si sgarra, oltreche se bene sono tutti Cavaglieri, sono poi finalm^e Fratacci*';

'che poteva bene, come huomo errare per una volta, . . . ma che perseverare nemo il Diavolo . . . haverebbe potuto indurlo'.

Chapter 4

- ¹ Caylus, *Voyage d'Italie*, as quoted in Engel, *Knights of Malta*, 66–7.
- ² For the story of Gomorrah, see Hiesberger (ed.), *The Catholic Bible*, 30–2.
- ³ Brydone, *A Tour*, 314.
- ⁴ See Bonello, *Reflections and rejections*, 96.
- ⁵ Waller (ed.), *The works of Francis Beaumont*, 78–163; the authorship of *The Knight of Malta* is contested and is generally thought to have been the result of a collective labour by at least three different authors, with John Fletcher being the most prominent. Bryne, *The maid of honour*, xiii–xxx. For a survey of references to the Hospitallers in literature, see Freller, *Verses*.
- ⁶ Two examples from the Maltese press include: Attard Montalto, 'Of Grand Masters', 46–7; Scerri, 'Dwellijiet', 28–9.
- ⁷ On prostitution in early modern Malta, see Ciappara, *Society*, 171–5, and Cassar, *Daughters*, 161–77. See also Savona-Ventura, *Devotees*, 19–40; Freller, *Malta and the Grand Tour*, 521–65.
- ⁸ Quote adapted from Laven, 'Sex and celibacy', 867.
- ⁹ On the historiography of the body, see Porter, 'History of the body reconsidered', 233–60, and compare it with the earlier version, Porter, 'History of the body', 206–32.
- ¹⁰ Laqueur, *Making sex*, 114–35.
- ¹¹ Newman, *Fashioning femininity*, 120, 171, n.21. Foyster, *Manhood*, 28–31. See also Coon, 'Somatic styles', 464, 470–1, 478–9. Wahrman, 'Change and the corporeal', 587–90, 596–8. McClive, 'Masculinity', 50, 64–5.
- ¹² Fissell, 'Gender and generation', 434.
- ¹³ Paster, 'The unbearable coldness', 417–8, 430, 439–40. Park, *Secrets*, 13–18, 186–7. Kuriyama, 'The forgotten fear', 417–25.
- ¹⁴ Bynum, 'Why all the fuss', 31; Kay and Rubin, 'Introduction', 7; Behrend-Martínez, 'Manhood', 1077–8; McClive, 'Masculinity', 46, 63–5.
- ¹⁵ Bynum, 'Why all the fuss', 13. Porter, 'What is disease?', 84–6. Paster, Rowe and Floyd-Wilson, 'Introduction', 12, 16. Park, *Secrets*, 21.
- ¹⁶ Kay and Rubin, 'Introduction', 2–3. Gilchrist, *Gender and archaeology*, 54, 87–8.
- ¹⁷ Hadley, 'Introduction', 3, 4, 17.
- ¹⁸ Swanson, 'Angels incarnate', 160–1. Riches and Salih, 'Introduction: Gender and holiness', 1–8.
- ¹⁹ Roper, *Oedipus*, 3–13.
- ²⁰ Nutton, 'Humoralism', 281–91. Roper, *Oedipus*, 112–4. Rubin, 'The person', 101. Rublack, 'Fluxes', 1–3. Murray, 'The law of sin', 18. Paster, Rowe and Floy-Wilson, 'Introduction', 1–2. Fletcher, 'Manhood', 421–3. Rublack, 'Fluxes', 4.
- ²¹ Farr, *Authority and sexuality*, 7.
- ²² Swanson, 'Angels incarnate', 176.
- ²³ N.L.M., A.O.M.295, f.61^v, Chapter General 1612.

- ²⁴ For examples of such portraits, see Toffolo, *Image*; Ricardi di Netro and Centile (eds.), *Gentilhuomini*; Corti, Amendolagine and Doglioni (eds.), *Lungo. Borg, 'Portraits'*.
- ²⁵ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 170, n.p., 29 January 1641, '*di giusta statura*'; C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 139, n.p., 5 October 1629, '*zoppo sacerdote*'.
- ²⁶ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 210, n.p., 18 February 1656, '*di giusta statura, di carnagione pallido, e con mustacci biondi*'. C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 212, n.p., 23 May 1658, '*di giusta statura, di bianca carnagione con un po di mustacci biondi*'.
- ²⁷ *Inter alia*: C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 181, n.p., 27 May 1644.
- ²⁸ *Inter alia*: C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 131, n.p., 16 August 1623. Vol. 170, Case 157, n.p., 18 April 1636.
- ²⁹ Hiesberger (ed.), *The Catholic Bible*, 1597. Bennett, 'Military masculinity', 80.
- ³⁰ See Luttrell, 'A Hospitaller in a Florentine fresco', 362; Sire, *The Knights*, Plates VI and VII.
- ³¹ Zucker, 'Raphael', 525, 532. Mills, 'The signification', 123. Beards were also important for Protestant clergymen; see MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 254, 260.
- ³² For images of the Grand Masters of the Order of Malta from c. 1580 to c. 1700, see the following: Nicholson, *The Knights*, Plate VI; Grima, *Žmien*, Images 10 and 11; Mercieca, *The Knights*, 70, 71, 73, 78; Ricardi di Netro and Centile, *Gentilhuomini*, 27, 47; de Piro, *The Sovereign Palaces*, 42; Zammit and Grima, *Il-Gran Mastri*, Vol. 1, 189.
- ³³ See for example Bosio, *Le immagini*, and N.L.M., A.O.M.1697, 1670, f.4^v.
- ³⁴ Dallas, *The adventures*, 19–20. At the early modern Ottoman Court beards were important markers of masculinity; see Peirce, *The imperial harem*, 11.
- ³⁵ B.A.V., Babr. Lat., Ms.6698, f.1^r, 22 May 1645, '*Il Putto si vede che ha aspetto signorile*'. For a detailed exposition of the capture and subsequent controversy over this boy's identity, see Vella, *Storja*, 105–21, and Freller and Campoy, *Padre Ottomano*. See also Greene, *A shared*, 13–44.
- ³⁶ For images of these Grand Masters refer to the publications in n.32 above.
- ³⁷ See Fisher, 'The renaissance beard', 184. Finucci, *The manly masquerade*, 4. On the widespread usage of wigs among elite men during the eighteenth century, see Pointon, *Hanging*, 107–39; Roche, *The culture of clothing*, 30–2, 203–4.
- ³⁸ Klein, 'Dress and morality', 1449. Rublack, 'Clothing', 258–9. Storey, *Carnal commerce*, 172–3. Roche, *The culture of clothing*, 184–5. Kuchta, *The three-piece suit*, 4–6. Nobles played a key role in shaping fashion not only in Europe, but also in early modern Asia; see Belfanti, 'Was fashion', 419–43.
- ³⁹ Rublack, *Dressing up*, 33–79.
- ⁴⁰ Richardson, 'Introduction', 8–9. Crane, *The performance*, 6. Fletcher, *Richard II*, 14–23.
- ⁴¹ Hughes, 'Sumptuary laws', 69–99. Muzzarelli, 'Reconciling', 597–617. Groebner, 'Inside out', 100–21. Wunder, 'What made a man a man?', 26. Hayward, *Dress*, 364. Compare Rublack, *Dressing up*, 261–70 with Roche, *The culture of clothing*, 56.
- ⁴² N.L.M., A.O.M.292, f.59^r, Chapter General 1587.
- ⁴³ N.L.M., A.O.M.93, ff.103^r, early 1570s. On clothes and social rank, see Belfanti and Giusberti, 'Clothing', 359–60.
- ⁴⁴ Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 254.

- ⁴⁵ N.L.M., A.O.M.91, f.65^v, 4 April 1562, 'nessun religioso di qualunque grado o conditione che s'ardisca ne presuma usar o portar cappa, manto, sia giuppone ne qualsiviegia altro vestire che sia di doi o diversi colori, ne con seti e filo, di altro colore, che del proprio vestito'; 'la honesta che si ricerca conforme à i statuti dell'ordine'.
- ⁴⁶ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo XII, 'Essendo del giorno la più utile & pretiosa parte la mattina, usarete levarve di continuo per tempo, nel vestire, & calzare, adobarve, & ornarve, farete presto, brieve, & espedito; & per essere l'huomo animale politico, voglio siate del corpo vostro limpido & netto, massime della bocca, mani, & piedi, ma non voglio già che siate delicato & molle. Fuggierete come peste zibetti, ambracani, muschi, polvere, profumi, acque, & simili odori, più convenienti à femine vane & leggiadre, & ad huomini lascivi & effeminati, che à un cavaliere religioso cioe voi. Et ricordatevi sempre del proverbio antico, che non fa sempre di buono chi è sempre profumato.'
- ⁴⁷ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo XIII, 'Nel vestire & calzare fuggirete ogni superfluità, & ogni ventosa pompa. Sarete sempre grave, modesto, & schietto. Fuggirete li bigaramenti, ò bordure, strappamenti, vergamenti, stracciamenti, tagliamenti, fregi, reccami, & simili vanità, & leggerezze del corrotto & rimbadiato mondo, come non pertinenti al stato & conditione vostra.'
- ⁴⁸ On manuals of *civilités* and clothes, see Roche, *The culture of clothing*, 370–2. Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374), in his *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, already had a section against perfuming; see Rawski (trans.), *Petrarch's remedies*, Dialogue 22, 65–9. On the worth of perfumes see Welch, *Shopping*, 266–9.
- ⁴⁹ Davidson, 'Sodomy', 67. Paresys, 'The dressed', 252.
- ⁵⁰ Wiesner, *Women and gender*, 305. Carter, *Men*, 2. Lehfeldt, 'Ideal men', 467–8. Welch, 'Art', 242.
- ⁵¹ Newman, *Fashioning femininity*, 111. Donnel, *Feminizing the enemy*, 156. Ribeiro, *Fashion and fiction*, 185. Currie, 'Clothing', 50–1.
- ⁵² On bodily cleanliness, see Roche, *The culture of clothing*, 371–2. See also Welch, 'Art', 241–68.
- ⁵³ S. Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo XLV, 'In tutte le attioni & operationi vostre vi sforzerete di esser tale, che si come questo santo & glorioso habito di S. Giovanni Battista qual voi portate honora & nobilita voi, cosi voi honorate & decorate esso con l'honestà & bontà della vita, & con le opere virtuose, con ricordarvi spesso, che tal'habito non solamente adorna il petto delli privati gentil'huomini, come voi siete, ma di più, figliuoli di Re, & di gran Principi del mondo, i quali non hanno riputato in poca gratia di haverlo ottenuto; ... e per tanto avvenga che ogn'uno non possa essere Re, nondimeno ogn'uno dovrebbe sforzarsi esser degno d'esser Re.'
- ⁵⁴ Zondadari, *Breve*, 23.
- ⁵⁵ Borg, 'Portraits', 134–6. For various images of Hospitallers, see Corti, Amendolagine and Doglioni (eds.), *Lungo* and Ricardi di Netro and Centile (eds.), *Gentilhuomini*. On the rise of military uniforms during the seventeenth century, see Roche, *The culture of clothing*, 221–56.
- ⁵⁶ Defert, 'Un genre', 26–8. Jones, 'Worn', 512.
- ⁵⁷ The most famous costume book of the early modern period was Cesare Vecellio's *Habiti antichi, et moderni* (Venice, 1590, 1598). See also Wilson, *The world*, chapter 2. For reproductions of Kilian's prints see Freller, *Spies*, 100, 102, 137. Bonanni, *Catalogo*, Nos.60, 61, 62, 63.
- ⁵⁸ Ilg, 'The cultural significance', 46–7.

- ⁵⁹ Bennett, 'Military masculinity', 79.
- ⁶⁰ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 168, Case 32, n.p., 20 January 1621.
- ⁶¹ Bonello, *Deceptions and perceptions*, 28. For various examples of Hospitaller's debts to tailors, see Bonello, *Figments and fragments*, 53–68.
- ⁶² Cachia, 'The Treasury', 193, 203–5, 208.
- ⁶³ N.L.M., A.O.M.742, c.1671, ff.8^r, *et seq.* Bonello, *Figments and Fragments*, 67.
- ⁶⁴ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.51, 13 February 1700, ff.34^r–35^r.
- ⁶⁵ On the many ways to discuss the body, see Porter, 'History of the body reconsidered', 236–7.
- ⁶⁶ Pastoureau, *Devil's cloth*, xiv. Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance clothing*, 23. Hayward, *Dress*, chapter 6. For an overview of European fashion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Mackrell, *An illustrated history*, 13–51. On the complexity of female attire, see Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's*. A helpful guide to understanding the technicalities of early modern clothes is Arnold, *Patterns of fashion*.
- ⁶⁷ These observations are based on a range of images reproduced in the following publications: Toffolo, *Image*, 43–44; Mayo, *The National Museum*, 30; Corti, Amendolagine and Doglioni (eds.), *Lungo*, 149–51, 162–171, 197–9; and Ricardi di Netro and Centile, *Gentilhuomini*, 48–49, 51–53, 58–59, 61.
- ⁶⁸ See Harte, 'The economics', 285, 288, and Rogers, 'Evaluating textiles', 122.
- ⁶⁹ On the properties of the colour black, see Pastoureau, *Black*, 77–150. Donnel, *Feminizing the enemy*, 154–5.
- ⁷⁰ Philips, *The life*, 174.
- ⁷¹ On masculinity and the making of a warrior, see Gilchrist, *Gender and archaeology*, 64–71.
- ⁷² For images of Hospitallers wearing armour, refer to the publications in n.67 above.
- ⁷³ On the use of armour in war, see: Ffoulkes, *Armour & weapons*, 47; Hale, *Renaissance war studies*, 234; Gies, *The knight*, 222–6; Pennington, *Europe*, 285–6; Tucker, 'Eminence', 1086–90. The question about the use of armour in early modern Europe forms one strand in the complex debate about the Military Revolution; see the various contributions in Rogers (ed.), *The military revolution debate*, and Parker, *The military revolution*. On armour over the ages and its uses, see also Breiding, 'Arms and armor' (see 'Online Resources' in Bibliography).
- ⁷⁴ Tucker, 'Eminence', 1057–8, 1066–7. Hayward, *Dress*, 6, 329–31.
- ⁷⁵ On the other hand, the uses of pictorial evidence for the study of the technicalities of armour are considered to be limited; see Anglo, *The martial arts*, 202.
- ⁷⁶ Thomas, 'Introduction', 2. Spicer, 'The renaissance elbow', 86, 93.
- ⁷⁷ Spiteri, *Armoury*, 366–7.
- ⁷⁸ Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance clothing*, 24. Welch, 'New, old', 103.
- ⁷⁹ Cachia, 'The Treasury', 203–5. Allerston, *Reconstructing*, 51–2. Karcheski and Richardson, *The medieval armour*, v. Spiteri, *Armoury*, 359–67.
- ⁸⁰ See Williams, 'The Knights', 162 and Spiteri, *Armoury*, 96, 234.
- ⁸¹ Gribomont, 'Castità', Vol. 2, 644–8; Lefebvre, 'Castità', Vol. 2, 662–5; Matura, 'Celibato', Vol.2, 738–44; Rublack, *Reformation Europe*, 30.
- ⁸² Lener, 'Natura', 28

- ⁸³ Leyser, 'Masculinity', 111, 116.
- ⁸⁴ Karras, *From boys to men*, 160–1. For a survey of ideas dealing with the body in the pre-Reformation Church, see Louth, 'The body', 111–30.
- ⁸⁵ Bullough, 'On being male', 34. Swanson, 'Angels incarnate', 161.
- ⁸⁶ Kaartinen, 'Evangelical eunuchs', 209, 224–30. Cullum, 'Introduction', 4–5. Murray, 'Masculinizing religious life', 27, 30.
- ⁸⁷ Swanson, 'Angels incarnate', 176.
- ⁸⁸ Thompson (ed.), *Collected works*, Vol. 39, 279–301.
- ⁸⁹ Hendrix, 'Masculinity', 177–93. Rublack, *Reformation Europe*, 30–6. See also Shepard, 'From anxious', 284. On the Reformation, the family and gender roles, compare and contrast the accounts by Ozment, *When fathers ruled*, with Roper, *The holy household*.
- ⁹⁰ Fletcher, 'Manhood', 425. Gowing, *Domestic dangers*, 1. Shepard, *Meanings*, 169.
- ⁹¹ Hodgkin, 'Thomas Whythorne', 21–41.
- ⁹² Tanner (ed.), *Decrees*, Vol. 2, 755, Session 24, 'Canons on the Sacrament of Marriage', 9 and 10. Laven, 'Sex and celibacy', 866. Laqua, 'Concubinage', 100. Strasser, *State*, 13. Cavallo, *Artisans*, 210–11. Cavallo, 'Bachelorhood', 392–3.
- ⁹³ Finucci, *The manly*, 5–6, 35. Heller, 'Varieties', 310, 315. Cavallo, *Artisans*, 165–6, 181–2, 191–3, 211–19. Cavallo, 'Bachelorhood', 376–8. Strasser, 'The First Form', 45–70. See also Gonçalo Monteiro, 'Nobility', 266–7.
- ⁹⁴ Farr, *Authority and sexuality*, 23. Wiesner, *Women and gender*, 305. Crawford, 'The politics', 227. Hendrix and Karant-Nunn, 'Introduction', xvi–xvii.
- ⁹⁵ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo CVI, '*Perche spesso intraviene fra gentil'huomini e cavalieri, e masimamente tra giovani sensuali e otiosi, ragionar et divisare delle bellezze delle donne, e perche so che alcun dira' che la donna a' dover esser bella, conviene che sia grande, ben fatta, alcun'altro mediocre, e alcun piu' tosto picciola, e chi dira' che la vuol'esser bianca, chi rossa, chi bruna, chi pallida, chi livida, e chi lauda gli occhi negri come matura oliva, chi di colore di castagna, chi azurri come zaffiro, chi come l'acque del mare, e chi commenda li capelli d'oro, chi biondi, chi di colore di avallena matura, e chi negri, e chi rossi; di maniera che delle bellezze della donna mal si puo' guidicare, perche solo dipendono dalli varij e diversi giusti e appetiti delle personi sensuali, leggere, lascive, e vane, nelle quali non e' giuditio, ne discrezione, ne ragion'alcuna*'.
⁹⁶ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo CXXI.
- ⁹⁷ B.M.R., Ms.31, 45, 1647.
- ⁹⁸ Zondadari, *Breve e particolare instruzione*, 13–14.
- ⁹⁹ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 350.
- ¹⁰⁰ Hughes, 'The architectural development', 491.
- ¹⁰¹ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.103, f.217^v, Chapter General 1578, '*che si ritorni la Santa Institutione del Collachio, come era in Rodi, et Convento non si puo chiamare se non si chiude et ne riducemo a vivere fraternalmente tutti Insiem separati da secolari, a quali si potra fuori del Collachio lasciare una parte di questa citta per loro habitatione, et massime per gli officiali della Religione, fra quali pero non possiamo stare se non Donne maritate, et honeste scacciando le meretrice publiche*'.
¹⁰² B.Vall., Ms.L23, f.67^v, c.1590. A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.3, f.3^r, 1588–99.
- ¹⁰³ Luttrell, 'Malta and Rhodes', 268.
- ¹⁰⁴ On architecture and gender, see Hills, 'Theorizing', 3–22.
- ¹⁰⁵ N.L.M., A.O.M.2166, 265, 267. Bonello, *Ventures and adventures*, 143.

- ¹⁰⁶ N.L.M., A.O.M.259, f.77^v, 1653, 'l'oppositi^{ne} à novità si grande'.
- ¹⁰⁷ Davis, *The war*, 110. Fletcher, 'Men's dilemma', 63. Chojnacki, *Women*, 10.
- ¹⁰⁸ Wright, 'The military orders', 41. Angiolini, 'La nobiltà', 875.
- ¹⁰⁹ Lea, *History*, 308–12. Maffei, 'Poland', 31–42.
- ¹¹⁰ N.L.M., A.O.M.93, f.150^v, 'spreto suae professionis voto, uxorem duxit', 8 August 1573.
- ¹¹¹ N.L.M., A.O.M.98, f.126^r, 'propria auctoritate habitum dimisit at que contra castitatem nostram per carnalem copulam nuper matrimonium consumavit', 1590.
- ¹¹² C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 242, n.p., 6 July 1678. N.L.M., A.O.M.262, ff.82^v–83^r, 30 September 1678. On Frà Marc'Antoine Augier's life see Bonello, *Ventures and adventures*, 156–62.
- ¹¹³ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.7, f.127^r, 15 August 1646.
- ¹¹⁴ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Col.171, Case 248, n.p., 5 April 1684.
- ¹¹⁵ B.M.R., Ms.31, 45, 1647.
- ¹¹⁶ On the complex interaction between sex, self-control and honour, see: Foyster, 'Male honour', 2157; Dabhoiwala, 'The construction of honour', 203–4; Capp, 'The double standard revisited', 70–2; Crawford, 'The politics', 225–52; Hacke, *Women*, 152–5, 161–4, 168–9, 173–4.
- ¹¹⁷ Williams, 'Esgart', 9.
- ¹¹⁸ Struckmeyer, 'The sisters', 95.
- ¹¹⁹ On ideas about cleanliness, danger and boundaries, see Douglas, *Purity and danger*, 40 and chapters 7 and 8.
- ¹²⁰ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6693, ff.3^r–5^v, 24 November 1623, 'essere governata questa relig^{ne} di puttani', 'una babillonia di peccati', 'argomenti, simonie carnalità'.
- ¹²¹ *Inter alia* N.L.M., A.O.M.296, f.135^v, Chapter General 1631.
- ¹²² C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 168, Case 46, f.1^r, 31 October 1581.
- ¹²³ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5353, f.15^r, 1668, 'col mezzo di femine lascive acquita facilmente la volontà de più giovani'.
- ¹²⁴ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo XVIII.
- ¹²⁵ Bosio, *Historia*, Vol. 2, 732.
- ¹²⁶ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6698, ff.13^r–14^r, 10 January 1659; f.36^r, 17 July 1670; f.45^r, 28 April 1674.
- ¹²⁷ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 80, ff.1^r–4^v, 7 September 1604; Vol. 171, Case 250, n.p., 24 May 1684.
- ¹²⁸ Luzio, 'Lettere inedite', 92.
- ¹²⁹ Guy, *My Heart*, 41.
- ¹³⁰ Bonello, *Figments and fragments*, 52.
- ¹³¹ Bonello, *Closures and disclosures*, 131.
- ¹³² N.L.M., A.O.M.296, f.134^r, Chapter General 1631, 'Donne Cortigiani habitino in certe strade di questo sacro convento'.
- ¹³³ Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, 42, n.1, 'Destina fabricar un novitiato per i cavalieri di Malta, e lo farà, levando che i cavalieri che vengono a Malta non corrono sì sfrenatamente ne vitii, che non havendo più dove posare, l'istessa notte dormono con meretrici'.
- ¹³⁴ Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, 8. B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.5353, 1668, f.15^r.
- ¹³⁵ Cassar, *Daughters of Eve*, 161. Philips, *The life*, 40.
- ¹³⁶ Ciappara, *Society*, 171–3. Cassar, *Daughters*, 166–8.
- ¹³⁷ Hufton, *The prospect*, 299–302. Cassar, *Daughters*, 161.
- ¹³⁸ N.L.M., A.O.M.296, f.135^v, Chapter General 1631.

- ¹³⁹ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.105, ff.48^r–51^r, 1581, ‘*corteggiane sive meretrice In convento di questa sua sacra Relig^{ne} In questa citta de Valletta ... commanda che tutte le d^e done meretrice che si trovano habitar In d^e c Valletta tanto quelle che tieneno case proprie come q^{lle} che stano adaffitto ... e di qualungo grado et conditione se fiono che Infra termine di un mese commesando dal giorno dela publicatione debiano ommimora posita partire dela detta citta vallette ... contravenendo alcuna ... per la prima volta di ese fustigata per tutta la vallette et Victo^a per la seconda di esser suoligata et mandata In exilio fuor di questa sua Isola de malta et gozo et della confisca ne delli benⁱ’.*
- ¹⁴⁰ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.105, f.26^v, 1581, ‘[li] Gran Croce tengono ò hanno tenuta pub^{le} la cocubina co molto scandalo et le liano figlioli ... et no solamente quelli della Gran Croce tengono publicam^e le concubine ma anco li comⁱ et li piu antiani de la Relig^{ne} et altri cavⁱ’⁷. On the problems that concubinage caused to the Catholic Church see Laqua, ‘Concubinage’, 72–100.
- ¹⁴¹ Falcone, ‘Una relazione di Malta’, 5, n.15, 9, n.27, 10.
- ¹⁴² On the theme of worlds turned upside-down, see Chartier, *Cultural history*, chapter 5.
- ¹⁴³ Imbroll’s history of the Order, as quoted in Testa, *Romegas*, 188–9.
- ¹⁴⁴ Storey, *Carnal commerce*, 14. See also Davis, ‘The geography of gender’, 31–7. Rocke, ‘Gender’, 161.
- ¹⁴⁵ Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, 9, ‘È un isola habitata da scapoli, et da gioventù senza guida, e senza timore, di tutte le nationi del mondo, et i vecchi non sono santi’.
- ¹⁴⁶ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 86, ff.1^r–6^r, 18 March 1606.
- ¹⁴⁷ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 98, ff.1^r–4^r, 21 April 1609.
- ¹⁴⁸ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 117, n.p., 6 September 1618.
- ¹⁴⁹ For a parallel with the situation in Rome, see Storey, *Carnal commerce*, 114, 220–1, 242.
- ¹⁵⁰ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 185, n.p., 6 May 1645.
- ¹⁵¹ For some other examples see: C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 168, Case 22, f.4^v, 16 September 1602; Vol. 170, Case 148, n.p., 13 January 1632; Vol. 170, Case 147, n.p., 2 November 1632; Vol. 170, Case 116, n.p., 30 June 1617.
- ¹⁵² N.L.M., A.O.M.93, f.94^v, 1572; A.O.M.94, f.51^r, 1572; A.O.M.96, f.186^r, 1572; A.O.M.89, f.13^r, c.1577; A.O.M.95, f.199^v, 31 May 1580; A.O.M.96, f.31^{rv}, 1582; A.O.M.96, ff.178^r, 217^r, c.1584; A.O.M.100, f.113^v, 1599; A.O.M.96, f.7^r, 1604; A.O.M.96, f.222^v, c.1604.
- ¹⁵³ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 168, Case 27, ff.1–23, 25 November 1606. For a short biographical note on Frà Camarasa see Galea, ‘The Grand Prior’, 96.
- ¹⁵⁴ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.53, ff.12^r–13^v, 9 January 1702.
- ¹⁵⁵ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo XXXIII, ‘E certo è, che l’andare di notte senza bisogno, altro non è, che un perturbar l’ordine della natura’.
- ¹⁵⁶ On the link between sexuality, gender and power, see Trexler, *Sex and conquest*.
- ¹⁵⁷ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 262, n.p., 17 February 1696, ‘*vollero sforzare a conoscerla carnalmente dalla parte di dietro*’.
- ¹⁵⁸ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 262, n.p., 17 February 1696, ‘*dopo haver fatto (trasportato dal vino) diverse insolenze nella Citta Valletta ci siamo trovati in casa d’una meretrice over mosso fu da un straordinario sensualita sforzai la donna*

a compiacermi, e mentre la stavo sforzando mi ricordo che essa pregato di lasciarla invocando la Madonna del Carmine Io allora resposi che non era tempo di chiamare la Madonna del carmine'.

- ¹⁵⁹ On ideas about the manipulation of the self by others see Davis, 'Boundaries', 56.
- ¹⁶⁰ O'Neil, 'Magical healing', 98. Ruggiero, *Binding passions*, 30, 93–125, 132, 166–74.
- ¹⁶¹ O'Neil, 'Magical healing', 101–3.
- ¹⁶² Gentilcore, *From bishop*, 213.
- ¹⁶³ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 70, ff.1^r–2^v, 6 April 1599; Vol. 169, Case 78, ff.1^r–2^v, 12 April 1602; Vol. 169, Case 81, ff.2^{rv}, 30 March 1603; Vol. 170, Case 138, n.p., 29 March 1625; Vol. 168, Case 35, n.p., 21 April 1628; Vol. 171, Case 233, n.p., 15 November 1674.
- ¹⁶⁴ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 82, ff.1^r–2^v, 12 April 1605; Vol. 170, Case 118, n.p., 13 December 1618; Vol. 170, Case 154, n.p., 25 July 1633; Vol. 171, Case 197, n.p., 28 January 1650; Vol. 171, Case 219, n.p., 27 February 1660.
- ¹⁶⁵ For instance, C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 60, ff.1^r–2^v, 13 April 1589; Vol. 170, Case 125, n.p., 21 March 1621; Vol. 171, Case 197, n.p., 28 January 1650; Vol. 168, Case 43, n.p., 16 April 1650.
- ¹⁶⁶ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 81, ff.1^r–2^v, 30 March 1603; Vol. 169, Case 82, ff.1^{rv}, 12 April 1605; Vol. 170, Case 154, n.p., 25 July 1633; Vol. 171, Case 219, n.p., 27 February 1660.
- ¹⁶⁷ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 168, Case 43, n.p., 16 April 1650.
- ¹⁶⁸ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 118, n.p., 13 December 1618; Vol. 170, Case 123, n.p., 21 March 1621; Vol. 170, Case 125, n.p., 21 March 1621; Vol. 170, Case 138, n.p., 29 March 1625; Vol. 168, Case 35, n.p., 12 April 1628; Vol. 171, Case 197, n.p., 28 January 1650.
- ¹⁶⁹ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 78, ff.1^r–2^v, 12 April 1602.
- ¹⁷⁰ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 81, ff.1^r–2^v, 30 March 1603.
- ¹⁷¹ See O'Neil, 'Magical healing', 99.
- ¹⁷² C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 60, ff.1^r–2^v, 13 April 1589; Vol. 169, Case 70, ff.1^r–2^v, 6 April 1599; Vol. 168, Case 35, n.p., 21 April 1628.
- ¹⁷³ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 106, n.p., 9 December 1612, '*Fra Sebastiano Foena ... Il piccolo sbarbato de fare quell che egli desiderava In cose de vanita et peccato carnale*'.
- ¹⁷⁴ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 106, n.p., 13 August 1616, '*Cinque anni in circa sono che havendo Io amicitia Intrinseca co fra Paulo Garsia d'Agosta fra cappellano ... Una sera andati a letto, deto Garsia spogliandosi*'.
- ¹⁷⁵ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 199, n.p., 25 May 1652, '*havea commesso il peccato di Nefando*'; '*bagiarlo come padre*'.
- ¹⁷⁶ Bray, 'Homosexuality', 3–8. Bray and Rey, 'The body of the friend', 65–84. Webster, 'Kiss me', 157.
- ¹⁷⁷ Perry, 'The "nefarious sin"', 67–90. For a concise discussion of the many possible male–male relationships, desire and sexuality, see Halperin, 'Introduction: Among men', 1–11. On perceptions of effeminate attributes and male–male desire, see DiGangi, 'How queer was the Renaissance?', 141–2.

- ¹⁷⁸ On the hierarchical nature of homosexual relations, see Rocke, *Forbidden*, 12–15. Rocke, ‘Gender’, 166–7. DiGangi, ‘How queer was the Renaissance?’, 142. MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 625. Berco, *Sexual hierarchies*, 23–38. On sodomy in Malta, see Ciappara, *Society*, 175–8. Cassar, *Daughters*, 231–2, n.p.34.
- ¹⁷⁹ Shepard and Harvey, ‘What have historians done’, 276. On the study of sexuality in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, see Boswell, *Christianity*, and Kuefler, ‘The Boswell thesis’, 1–35. See also Ferguson, *Queer*, 1–54.
- ¹⁸⁰ Betteridge, ‘Introduction’, 5. Davidson, ‘Sodomy’, 66. Naphy, ‘Sodomy’, 96. MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 622. Histories of modern homosexuality have tended to assume a teleological shift in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from homosexuality as behaviour to homosexuality as an identity; however, such a linear development has also been questioned; see Reay, ‘Writing the modern histories’, 230.
- ¹⁸¹ Davidson, ‘Theology’, 76–86. Seifert, ‘Masculinity’, 37. Naphy, ‘Reasonable doubt’, 140–1. Naphy, ‘Sodomy’, 75–88.
- ¹⁸² Borris, ‘Introduction’, 6–30.
- ¹⁸³ Bray, ‘Homosexuality’, 1–19. Bray, ‘To be a man’, 159.
- ¹⁸⁴ N.L.M., A.O.M.86, ff.21^r, 115^r, 122^r, 1541; A.O.M.429, f.1313^r, 1564; A.O.M.91, f.133^v, 1564; A.O.M.92, ff.223^v–224^r, 1570; A.O.M.93, f.21^r, 1571; A.O.M.93, ff.21^v, 60^r, 1573; A.O.M.93, ff.153^v, 1573; A.O.M.99, ff.57^r, 89^r, 1578; A.O.M.99, ff.193^v, late sixteenth century. C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 106, n.p., 9 December 1612; Vol. 171, Case 199, n.p., 25 May 1652. For a chronological discussion of many of these cases see Bonello, *Deceptions and perceptions*, 85–95.
- ¹⁸⁵ Ruggiero, *The boundaries of Eros*, chapter 4. Perry, ‘The “nefarious sin”’, 82. Tannahill, *Sex in history*, 279. Bray, ‘Homosexuality’, 10. Zorach, ‘The matter of Italy’, 581–609. Seifert, ‘Masculinity’, 37. Laqueur, *Solitary sex*, 155. Heller, *Anti-italianism*, 182. Ferguson, *Queer*, 55–91.
- ¹⁸⁶ Trexler, *Sex and conquest*, 1–12. Matar, *Turks*, 109–28. Wiesner, *Christianity and sexuality*, 126, 184. Ciappara, *Society*, 177.
- ¹⁸⁷ Lithgow, *The totall discourse*, 335–6.
- ¹⁸⁸ Rocke, ‘Gender’, 167. Matar, *Turks*, 127. Merrick and Ragan (eds.), *Homosexuality*, Glossary, xiii.
- ¹⁸⁹ Zorach, ‘The matter of Italy’, 581–609. Wiesner, *Christianity and sexuality*, 127. Carroll, *Blood*, 90. Seifert, ‘Masculinity’, 41. Godard, *Le goût*, 167–9. The term chosen by the members of this organisation to describe themselves was ‘Order’. However, in order to distinguish this ‘Order’ from the Order of Malta and avoid confusion, I have opted to use the term ‘confraternity’.
- ¹⁹⁰ Merrick and Ragan (eds.), *Homosexuality*, 118–24.
- ¹⁹¹ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 166, Case [10] 482, f.1^v, 28 January 1716, ‘*l’ordine dei bicchieri*’. Zammit, ‘A secret society’, 309–22. See also Mallia–Milanes, *Descrittione*, 94–5.
- ¹⁹² C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 166, Case [10] 482, f.5^v, 31 January 1716. Zammit, ‘A secret society’, 311–12.
- ¹⁹³ Zammit, ‘A secret society’, 312.
- ¹⁹⁴ Mallia–Milanes, *Descrittione*, 94–5. cf. Davis, *Society*, on the ‘Abbeys of Misrule’, 98–123.
- ¹⁹⁵ N.L.M., A.O.M.429, f.131^v, 3 February 1562.

- ¹⁹⁶ N.L.M., A.O.M.91, f.98^v, 1563. King, *Rule*, 83. On the Teutonic Knights see Sterns, 'Crime', 91.
- ¹⁹⁷ Barber, *The trial*. Karras, 'Knighthood', 273–86.
- ¹⁹⁸ On medieval ideas about sodomy, see Hadley, 'Introduction', 10–11.
- ¹⁹⁹ Monter, *Frontiers of heresy*, 134–7.
- ²⁰⁰ Naphy, 'Reasonable doubt', 129.
- ²⁰¹ N.L.M., A.O.M.92, ff.223^v–224^r, 1570; A.O.M.93, ff.21^v, 60^r, 1573; A.O.M.93, ff.153^{rv}, 1573; A.O.M.99, f.115^v, 1596; A.O.M.429, f.131^v, 3 February 1562. On judicial leniency in Florentine sodomy cases see Rocke, *Forbidden*, 144–6.
- ²⁰² Chastity was understood in ambiguous and fluid terms across Catholic Europe. For an example of this vagueness among nuns, see Sperling, *Convents*, 135–6, and Laven, 'Sex and celibacy', 884. See also Wogan-Browne, 'Chaste bodies', 30.

Chapter 5

- ¹ The *Maestro di Casa* or *Sous Maître* was a Palace official responsible for the Grand Master's table and food supplies. Up to 1713, this official was also in charge of the *Familiari*, the personal bodyguard of the Grand Master. For more details on palace officials, see Piro, *The sovereign palaces*, 29–34.

- ² A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.50, ff.333^{rv}, 16 December 1699:

'Se ne andarono poi tutti in truppa al Palazzo del Vesc', dove haverestero tentato forse qualche eccesso, se il s' Gran Mro non ci havesse rimediato.

Havendo S.E. saputo ciò, diede incombenza al sig^{re} Comm^{re} Tancredi suo Mro di Casa et al Comnd^e Bovio ser^{no} del Tesoro di separare i sudⁱ Cav^{ri} ammutinatj p ovviare à quell che poteva succedere. Hebbero tanto di forza le parole di questi Ece ssⁱ Comm^{ri} e gl'essemplij apportatj della distruzione de Templarij succeduta p similj cagionj, e de castighi dati da i sommj Ponteficij in talj cong^{re} che ridussero i sud: ammutinatj à lasciare il premeditato eccesso.'

- ³ On the fate of the Templars, see Barber, *The trial*.
- ⁴ On rules about carrying weapons, see N.L.M., A.O.M.296, f.133^v, Chapter General 1631.
- ⁵ On ideas about violence in early modern Europe, see for instance Hale, 'Sixteenth-century explanations', 3–26; Davis, *The war*; Roper, *Oedipus*, chapter 5; Carroll, *Blood*, 7–8, 13, 65–82, 264–84; Blastenbrei, 'Violence', 68–76; Ruff, *Violence*, 1–10, 45–52, 77–80, 248–58. On episodes of Hospitaller violence in France, see Carroll. *Blood*, 46; in Rome, see Wright, *The early modern papacy*, 93–4; Cassar, 'Justices', 305–23.
- ⁶ Details about most of these incidents will be given later in this chapter. In 1622, there was a revolt against the unjust distribution of commanderies due to interference from Rome; see chapter 2, 75–6. In 1581, Grand Master la Cassière was toppled from power by a group of rebellious Hospitallers; see chapter 2, 83–7.
- ⁷ Riches, 'The phenomenon of violence', 1–5.
- ⁸ Davis, *Society*, in particular 'The rites of violence', 152–87. See also Burke, *What is cultural history?*, 106.

- ⁹ On the complexity of the structures of violence, see Carroll, *Blood*, 7, 13–14, 160 and Part I.
- ¹⁰ Blastenbrei, 'Violence', 68–76. Hale, 'Sixteenth-century explanations', 5. Davis, *The war*, 110–12. Amussen, 'The part of a Christian man', 222. Shepard, *Meanings*, 15, 128–51, 252.
- ¹¹ Roper, 'Stealing manhood', 16. Roper, *Oedipus*, 111. Davis, *The war*, 109. Davis, 'The geography of gender', 25–7.
- ¹² Roper, *Oedipus*, 115. Foyster, 'Boys', 151. Shepard, *Meanings*, 15.
- ¹³ *Inter alia*: N.L.M., A.O.M.95, ff.163^v–164^r, 7 September 1579; ff.249^v–250^r, 22 April 1581; A.O.M.97, ff.64^v, 115^r, 120^v, 1587; A.O.M.98, ff.198^v, 201^r, 1594.
- ¹⁴ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P. Vol. 170, Case 105, n.p., 22 December 1611.
- ¹⁵ On the dynamics of relations between young and old, see Karras, *From boys to men*, 30.
- ¹⁶ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 167, Case 11, ff.1^{rv}, 15 March 1586.
- ¹⁷ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 167, Case 16, ff.1^{rv}, 23 February 1601.
- ¹⁸ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 112, n.p., 4 May 1615.
- ¹⁹ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.50, ff.333^v–334^r, 16 December 1699; ff.344^r–345^v, 19 December 1699; ff.352^r–354^v, December 1699. Ms.51, f.3³, 2 January 1700; ff.6^{rv}, 9 January 1700; ff.14^{rv}, 16 January 1700; ff.23^{rv}, 6 February 1700; ff.34^r–35^r, 13 February 1700.
- ²⁰ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.50, ff.333^v–334^r, 16 December 1699, '*La matt^a seguente fù trovato in publico un Cartello col quale si avvertivano i maltesi di qualsivoglia condizione, sesso, et età à portar rispetto allj s^{ri} Cav^{ri} se non volevano esser tagliatj à pezzi*'.
- ²¹ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.50, ff.352^r–354^v, December 1699.
- ²² *Inter alia*: C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 167, Case 18, f.17^r, 11 December 1595; Case 19, f.1^r, 21 March 1599. Vol. 168, Case 25, f.1^{rv}, 5 November 1605. Vol. 170, Case 167, n.p., 28 September 1640.
- ²³ Walker, 'Honour', 167.
- ²⁴ On duelling and masculinity, see Hale, 'Sixteenth-century explanations', 11–12. Tosh, 'What should historians do', 182. Connell, *Masculinities*, 190. Weinstein, 'Fighting or flything?', 211–2. Dewald, *The European nobility*, 97. Ruff, *Violence*, 77–80.
- ²⁵ For an account of the many duels that Hospitallers engaged in, see Bonello, *Versions and diversions*, 69–87.
- ²⁶ Brydone, *A Tour*, 332–4. N.L.M., A.O.M.296, f.132^r, Chapter General 1631.
- ²⁷ Tanner (ed.), *Decrees*, Vol. 2, 795, Session 25, chapter 19. Weinstein, 'Fighting or flything?', 214.
- ²⁸ For a discussion of how the duel remained an integral part of elite male identity and honour well into modern times, see Nye, *Masculinity*, chapters 8 and 9.
- ²⁹ N.L.M., A.O.M.295, f.110^{rv}, Chapter General 1612. A.O.M.296, f.133^r, Chapter General 1631.
- ³⁰ N.L.M., A.O.M.296, f.133^v, Chapter General 1631. Ariès, *Centuries*, 315. On the problems caused by the widespread possession of weapons in early modern society see Blastenbrei, 'Violence', 74–83.

- ³¹ N.L.M., A.O.M.296, f.132', Chapter General 1631. The unofficial earmarking of certain spaces to be used for duels also happened to some extent in France; see Carroll, *Blood*, 169.
- ³² Bosio, *Historia*, Vol. 3, 122. Vertot, *The history*, Vol. 2, 57–9. See also Marulli, *Vite*, 720–3.
- ³³ Mettam, 'The French nobility', 130–3.
- ³⁴ Walker, 'Honour', 27, 159. Shepard, 'Manhood', 103–4. Anglo, 'How to kill', 1–12. Weinstein, 'Fighting or flything?', 211. Carroll, *Blood*, 147–59.
- ³⁵ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 189, n.p., 22 October 1648.
- ³⁶ Muzio, *Il duello*.
- ³⁷ Pozzo, *Historia*, Vol. 1, 567–8.
- ³⁸ On the merging of duels and brawls, see Anglo, *The martial arts*, 273. Carroll, *Blood*, 147–59.
- ³⁹ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo XIII, 'Nel mangiare e bere sarete sempre honestò & sobrio, con ricordarve, che sì come la crapula & la imbraghezza sono rovina delle menti & corpi humani, così la sobrietà, la frugalità, e temperanza sono la salute ... Usarete ordinariamente più tosto cibi grossi & rusticani, che delicati & esquisiti'.
- ⁴⁰ Bennett, 'Military masculinity', 81.
- ⁴¹ Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 252–4.
- ⁴² Shepard, *Meanings*, 95, 100.
- ⁴³ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 258, n.p., 27 February 1693, 'd' donna allora disse, Giesu Maria, quasi sdegnando quell'attione di d' conte, il quale rispose alla d' donna che non dovesse montonare il nome di Giesu e Maria, perche più offendeva quello Iddio mentre egli haveva ne suoi coglioni'.
- ⁴⁴ Roper, *Oedipus*, 110. Shepard, 'Swil-bols and tos-pots', 110–30.
- ⁴⁵ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P. Vol. 169, Case 72, ff.1^{rv}, 25 January 1599; Vol. 170, Case 171, n.p., 23 July 1641; Case 177, n.p., 16 June 1643.
- ⁴⁶ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo XIX.
- ⁴⁷ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 141, n.p., 21 April 1628.
- ⁴⁸ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 166, n.p., 3 April 1640.
- ⁴⁹ Darmanin Demajo, 'Storia dell'albergia', 40–1. Bonello, *Deceptions and perceptions*, 118, 123.
- ⁵⁰ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 79, n.p., 18 September 1603, 'disse a' quelli homini che erano li congregati da quì avanti ne preti ne a' frati ne anco se fosse il Papa che venessero a' passar con le robbe no lasciateli passare ma ammazzateli etiam che se fosse il Papa se no vi darro' tratti di corda'.
- ⁵¹ Walker, 'Gambling', 33, 52, 56.
- ⁵² *Inter alia*: C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 130, n.p., 5 March 1622; Case 164, n.p., 20 December 1640; Case 173, n.p., 5 October 1642.
- ⁵³ Walker, 'Gambling', 42, 47–8.
- ⁵⁴ On the workings of fortune in gambling see Walker, 'Gambling', 43–6.
- ⁵⁵ *Inter alia* C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 93, f.1^r, 21 April 1607; Case 99, f.1^r, 23 November 1609; Vol. 171, Case 228, n.p., 3 March 1665.
- ⁵⁶ Castiglione, *Ricordi*, Ricordo XXXVIII, 'che de i guochi, i quali tutti da noi siano lontani & alieni, & massime di carte & dadi; dalli quali il più delle volte nascono ire, inimicitie, latrocinij, biastemmie, homicidij, & altri mali infiniti, & quasi sempre conducono l'huomo à miserabil fine'. See also Black, *The Italian inquisition*, 136–8.

- ⁵⁷ The information about the *ridotti* was kindly provided to me by Mr Noel Buttigieg; it forms part of his ongoing study about gambling in early modern Malta.
- ⁵⁸ On gambling and magic in Venice, see Walker, 'Gambling', 47–8.
- ⁵⁹ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 168, Case 34, n.p., 27 March 1625.
- ⁶⁰ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 217, n.p., 19 January 1660. Vol. 171, Case 216, n.p., 20 January 1660. Vol. 171, Case 215, n.p., 23 January 1660.
- ⁶¹ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 231, n.p., 21 July 1670; Case 238, n.p., 14 February 1677.
- ⁶² On Vittorio Cassar see Cassar, *Witchcraft*, 65–84.
- ⁶³ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 87, ff.1^r–8^v, 26 January 1607, '*esso Don Antonio disse al sudetto Musu La Lea che li danari che gli havea vinto no erano ben vinti perche no l'havea vinti per fortuna ne per buon suo giuditio ma per arte diabolica, per arte del demonio che havea astretto nel anello che portava in deto, et che gli cavo detto anello dal deto et che co tal occasione ne havendolo detto do Antonio provocato di volerse ammazzare se co esso Musu La Lea gli diede buone parole e cerco de fugire la mala occasione*'.
- ⁶⁴ B.Vall., Ms.L23, f.66^v, c.1590.
- ⁶⁵ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, Case 88, n.p., 19 April 1607; Vol. 170, Case 140, n.p., 10 January 1628; Vol. 171, Case 240, n.p., 15 July 1678.
- ⁶⁶ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 168, case 33, ff.1^r–11^r, 2 August 1622; Vol. 171, Case 252, n.p., 19 September 1685.
- ⁶⁷ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 194, n.p., 15 April 1650.
- ⁶⁸ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 171, Case 212, n.p., 23 May 1658; Case 220, n.p., 3 June 1661.
- ⁶⁹ Bonello, *Ventures and adventures*, 64, 133.
- ⁷⁰ Walker, 'Gambling', 28–9, 61.
- ⁷¹ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6683, f.31^r, 7 August 1639, '*La facilità in rivoltarsi li Cav^r*'. A year later he was still voicing similar concerns; see B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6684, f.118^r, 8 December 1640.
- ⁷² B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6698, f.76, c.1684, '*qualche gran disordine*'.
- ⁷³ Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, 44–6.
- ⁷⁴ On Jesuits and the Inquisition, see O'Malley, *The first Jesuits*, 311. On Father Sebastiano Salelles, see Bonnici, 'A bad reputation', 55; and C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P. Vol. 170, Case 179, n.p., 27 June 1643; Vol. 168, Case 41, n.p., 23 January 1647.
- ⁷⁵ On the European-wide suspicion of Jesuit influence in politics, particularly in France, see O'Malley, *The first Jesuits*, 144; Briggs, *Communities*, 346; Hsia, *The world*, 32–33; Burke, 'The black legend', 166–7; Nelson, 'The Jesuit myth', 94–115; Bireley, *The Jesuits*, 183; Höpfl, *Jesuit political thought*, 58–63; Bergin, 'The royal confessor', 189–90; Kettering, 'Household appointments', 275–8; Ditchfield, 'The Jesuits', 58. Reinhardt, 'Spin doctor', 568–90.
- ⁷⁶ Taviani, *La commedia*, 67–81. Burke, 'The language', 76.
- ⁷⁷ Welch, *Shopping*, 108–9.
- ⁷⁸ Taviani, *La commedia*, 74–6. Walker, 'Honour', 155–6.
- ⁷⁹ Burke, *Varieties*, 151–2.
- ⁸⁰ Burke, *Popular culture*, 207–43. Zarri, 'Gender', 193. Martin, *The Jesuit mind*, 77–8. Gentilcore, *From bishop*, 5, 70. Boer, *The conquest*, 76, 175, 248. On

different attitudes within the elite towards Carnival, see Ruggiero, *Binding passions*, 16.

- ⁸¹ Darnton, *The great cat massacre*, 83. See also Le Goff and Truong, *Une histoire*, chap.1.
- ⁸² For various examples see Bonello, *Closures and disclosures*, 67–79.
- ⁸³ Cremona, ‘Spectacle’, 41–60.
- ⁸⁴ Laurenza, *I Granmaestri italiani*, 9.
- ⁸⁵ A.R.S.I., Ms.Vitae 104, f.234^r, late seventeenth century, ‘*Si fanno le 40: hore annue nei ultimi 3 giorni di Carnovale con grandj^{ma} divott^{ne}; qli furono causache nell’anno della loro introdutt^{ne} 1598: Il Em^{mo} Gran Maestro prohibi che no si facessero più certi giochi soliti con offesa grande del Sig^{re} Il che anco s’osserva sin hoggi⁷.*’
- ⁸⁶ Zammit-Ciantar has noted that the dates of the Carnival of 1639, as specified in contemporary accounts, do not align with the Gregorian calendar. Thus, although accounts of the Carnival state that the troubles started on Saturday 3 March, this was actually Saturday 5 March. In what follows, I shall use the date system as specified by Zammit-Ciantar, ‘The expulsion’, 8.
- ⁸⁷ B.Ang., Ms.1654/19, ff.158^r–162^v, 1639, ‘*dispiacque un tale editto a’ i Cav^{ri} si giovani, come vecchj, e fu mal tollerata dgli Artisti⁷.*’
- ⁸⁸ Pozzo, *Historia della sacra religione*, 39, ‘Fuori Berrettone’.
- ⁸⁹ Cited quotes taken from B.Ang., Ms.1654/19, ff.158^r–162^v, 1639, ‘*cominciarono a gettarle dale finistre al Popolo, acio facessero Carnevale alle burla de Gesuiti⁷; ‘un’ giuoco Carnevalasco⁷; ‘sedare quell giovenile furore⁷; ‘ambivano il maneggio del Gran Maestro⁷; ‘il furore giovanile non ha ne legge, ne riguardo alcuno⁷; ‘il Padre Spagnuolo, che per molti anni aveva soggiornato in quell’Isola con titolo di santità, e lontano da i Manegg⁷.*’
- ⁹⁰ B.Ang., Ms.1654/19, ff.158^r–162^v, 1639; Allen, ‘Anti-Jesuit rioting’, 9. Another account similar to this one was discovered in Modena; see Zammit-Ciantar, ‘The expulsion’, 1–29.
- ⁹¹ B.Ang., Ms.2294/7, ff.124–125, 8 March 1639, ‘*Gesuiti bastonati e mandati via dall’Isola di Malta in Sicilia⁷; ‘E’ arrivato a tanto l’insolenza de Gesuiti, che oggi infini Cavalieri d’ogni nazione, sono stati forzati andare al loro Convento, e d’autorita⁷ bastonarli e due restati feriti⁷.*’
- ⁹² Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, 66–70. Galea, *German Knights*, 55–8. Allen, ‘Anti-Jesuit rioting’, 26–7. On Prince Friedrich von Hessen, see Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, 60–70.
- ⁹³ On Father Muzio Vitelleschi and his many requests for patronage, see Bireley, *The Jesuits*, 20, 24–6, 31, 53, 79–80, 177–8, 207. On the effects of such requests on the Order, see Allen, ‘Anti-Jesuit rioting’, 5. Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, 60–6. Galea, *German Knights*, 55. A.R.S.I., Ms.Sic.12II, ff.295^r, 298^{rv}, 299^v, 303^r–304^r, 305^r, 312^r, 328^r, 334^r, 351^v, 366^v–367^r.
- ⁹⁴ Nelson, *The Jesuits*, 49, 95. Bireley, *The Jesuits*, 2. Burke, ‘The black legend’, 170.
- ⁹⁵ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6682, ff.325^r–326^r, 11 March 1639, ‘*Ma lo spirito turbatore della pace e’ quello che nell ultime hore del Carnevale ha voluto trionfare con oltraggio⁷.* Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, 473, letter dated 14 March 1639, ‘*Il caso passato fu mera opera del demonio⁷.*’
- ⁹⁶ Davis ‘From ‘popular religion”, 331; Cremona, ‘Carnival’, 69–90. Le Roy Ladurie, *Carnival*. Muir, *Ritual*, 93–7.

- ⁹⁷ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6682, ff.328^{rv}, 13 March 1639.
- ⁹⁸ On the continued boisterousness of Carnival in Malta, see A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.14, f.36^{rv}, 12 February 1659; Ms.22, ff.12^{rv}, 40^{rv}, 1667; Ms.53, ff.5^r, 31^{rv}, 58^{rv}, 7 January – 4 March 1702.
- ⁹⁹ The *Camerata* was re-established in 1685 by a group of eight knights and a conventual chaplain who, like their predecessors, felt the need to lead a more spiritually oriented life; N.L.M., A.O.M.1697, f.2^r, 1670 (see the note at the bottom of the folio that was added later). Pozzo, *Historia*, 483–4, 582–8. According to the Venetian diplomat Giacomo Capello, in 1716 there were only a few Hospitallers living at the *Camerata*; Mallia–Milanes, *Descrittione*, 98.
- ¹⁰⁰ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6682, ff.328^{rv}, 13 March 1639.
- ¹⁰¹ B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6682, ff.323^{rv}, 9 March 1639. B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6690, f.183^r.
- ¹⁰² B.A.V., Barb. Lat., Ms.6690, f.192^r, 16 April 1639; f.198^r, 16 May 1639.
- ¹⁰³ Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, 484, letter dated 16 April 1639.
- ¹⁰⁴ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P. Vol. 170, Case 161, n.p., June 1639, ‘*nel sud^o tempo io mi dolsi con un s^r cavaliere italiano lungo calvo di cervello che mi pare si chiamava Tornaquinci dell’eccesso che i ssⁱ cavⁱ havevano fatto contro i padri Gesuiti, dicendoli io no vi e’ Paradiso, no vi e’ Inferno? Tutti haverano da morire, e lui mi rispose con qste parole che Paradiso, che Inferno?*’.
- ¹⁰⁵ Shepard, *Meanings*, 135.
- ¹⁰⁶ Borg, *Fabio Chigi*, 491, ‘*faccino qualche gran affronto all’Inquisitore, senza correre, li delinquenti, o sollevati altro pericolo, o pena, che di partirsi dall’isola, e ritirarsi alle case loro per qualche poco di tempo*’.
- ¹⁰⁷ Carroll, *Blood*, 201, 210.
- ¹⁰⁸ King, *Rule*, 4.
- ¹⁰⁹ On the Teutonic Knights, see Sterns, ‘Crime’, 89–91.
- ¹¹⁰ N.L.M., A.O.M.99, f.65^v, 18 March 1595. Williams, ‘Boys’, 182.
- ¹¹¹ For a detailed exposition of crime and punishment within the Order, see Williams, ‘Esgart’, 8. See also Forey, ‘Judicial processes’, 87–97; and N.L.M., A.O.M.295, f.75^v, Chapter General 1612.
- ¹¹² N.L.M., A.O.M.95, ff.249^v–250^r, 22 April 1581; A.O.M.97, ff.64^v, 115^r, 120^v, 1587; A.O.M.98, f.34^r, 1590.
- ¹¹³ N.L.M., A.O.M.95, ff.163^v–164^r, 7 September 1579; A.O.M.100, ff.227^r, 235^r, 243^v, 1602.
- ¹¹⁴ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.51, ff.34^r–35^r, 13 February 1700.
- ¹¹⁵ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.50, f.354^v, December 1699, ‘*benche si giudica che contro i cavⁱ professi S.E. non potrà venire à castigo alcuno stante l’aiuto, che haveranno dà questi sigⁱ del Consiglio, mà che i cavⁱ Novizij, qualj totalmente dà lui dipendono non sè là passeranno senza qualche esemplare castigo*’.
- ¹¹⁶ N.L.M., A.O.M.93, f.132^r, c.1577; A.O.M.96, ff.213^r, 218^v, 1584. C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 169, case 58, ff.1^r–3^r, 12 March 1587.
- ¹¹⁷ N.L.M., A.O.M.97, f.43^r, 1586; A.O.M.95, f.266^v, 1592. A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.14, ff.70^{rv}, 18 February 1659.
- ¹¹⁸ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 170, Case 114, n.p., 15 February 1616.
- ¹¹⁹ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 167, Case 11, ff.14^r, 19^r, March–June 1586.

- ¹²⁰ C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 167, Case 15B, partly paginated, 19 January 1600; C.A.M., A.I.M., C.P., Vol. 168, Case 41, n.p., 23 January 1647.
- ¹²¹ On the seemingly ambivalent approach to crime and punishment in medieval and early modern times, see the contributions in Mulholland and Pullan (eds.), *Judicial tribunals*; see in particular Laven, 'Testifying', 152.
- ¹²² On the rituals of punishment, see Muir, *Ritual*, 116–21.
- ¹²³ On the dynamics of the Oratory of the Beheading of St John, see Stone, 'The context', 161–70.
- ¹²⁴ Williams, 'Esgart', 8.
- ¹²⁵ Pasquinelli, *Il gesto*, 235–8, 268–71.
- ¹²⁶ N.L.M., A.O.M.95, f.204^r, 3 July 1580, '*tanq membru putride et fetidu vicetus et separatus fuit*'.
- ¹²⁷ '*In asperis mature*'.
- ¹²⁸ Bosio, *Historia*, Vol. 3, 122.
- ¹²⁹ Testa, *Romegas*, 167, 175 n.43. Bonello, *Ventures and adventures*, 33.
- ¹³⁰ '*Prohibeat observantia poenas*'.
- ¹³¹ On the nobility's privileges, see Dewald, *The European nobility*, 28–9.
- ¹³² Elias, *The civilizing process*, 265–9.
- ¹³³ Carroll, *Blood*, 330–2.
- ¹³⁴ On noble violence in Venice, see Walker, 'Honour', 171–3.
- ¹³⁵ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.50, ff.333^{rv}, 16 December 1699, '*[la] distruzione de Templarij succeduta p simili cagionj*'.
- ¹³⁶ A.S.V., Segr. Stato, Malta, Ms.53, ff.58^{rv}, 4 March 1702, '*che conforme il solito, haverà la grazia*'. There were *guvas* in Birgu and in Gozo, but only one in Birgu seems to have survived; see Bonello, *Convictions and conjectures*, 9–43.

Conclusion

- ¹ Womersley (ed.), *Edward Gibbon*, Vol. 6, 609–10.
- ² It should be noted that Gibbon made no distinction between the Hospitallers and the Templars; see Barber, *The new knighthood*, 316.
- ³ Bueren, 'The art treasures', 221. Allen, 'The social and religious world', 153.
- ⁴ Paraphrasing Wright, *The early modern*, 1.
- ⁵ On changes to sexual models of behaviour brought about by the Counter-Reformation, see Behrend–Martínez, 'Manhood', 1073–4.
- ⁶ Gentilcore, *Healers and healing*; Bamji, 'Religion and disease', 7–21, 232–3.
- ⁷ Bynum, *Jesus as mother*, 110–69.
- ⁸ Noue, *Discours*, 218, 245. Hale, 'Sixteenth-century explanations', 21.
- ⁹ Elias, *The civilizing process*, 265–9.
- ¹⁰ Rowlands, 'Not 'the usual suspects'?', 1–5, 15–19.
- ¹¹ N.L.M., A.O.M.95, f.204^r, 3 July 1580, '*tanq membru putride et fetidu vicetus et separatus fuit*'.
- ¹² On the importance of images to Protestantism, see Rublack, *Reformation Europe*, 193. On the importance of the printed word for Catholicism and historical considerations of this, see Racaut, 'Nicolas Chesneau', 23–41.

¹³ On gender in images, see Sheriff, 'How images', 146–69.

¹⁴ Eco, *Foucault's Pendulum*, 77, cited in the Introduction, 1.

Epilogue

¹ On the iconography of this square, see Bussagli, 'The eighteenth century', 589–91.

² Vella, *Storja*, 173.

³ Vella, *Storja*, 160–72. Koster, 'The Knight's State', 309. Testa, *The life*. Sire, *The Knights*, 221–3.

⁴ Cassar, *Early Relations*, 3–9. Mallia–Milanes, 'The Order', 99–101. Ciappara, 'Integration', 233–42. Cavaliero, *The Last*, 119. Testa, *The Life*, 173–7. Nicholson, *The Knights*, 125–6.

⁵ Mallia–Milanes, *Venice*. Mallia–Milanes, *In the service*.

⁶ Spagnoletti, *Stato*, 42. See also Freller, *Carasi*.

⁷ Vella, *Storja*, 190, 198–203. Mallia–Milanes, 'The Order', 91, 101–3. Blondy, 'Malta and France', 659–85. Sire, *The Knights*, 134–6.

⁸ *Mémoire présenté par les ministres plenipotentiaires de l'Ordre Souverain de Saint Jean de Jérusalem au Congrès Général a Vienne*, s.l., 1814, as quoted in Spagnoletti, *Stato*, 33.

⁹ Sire, *The Knights*, 101–208, 285. Nicholson, *The Knights*, 138–46.

¹⁰ Riley-Smith, *The military–religious orders*, 22.

¹¹ Bosio, *Roma sotterranea*, 11–13. Rutgers, *Subterranean*, 15–25.

¹² See chapter 2, 85.

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H.U.P.	Harvard University Press
J.H.U.P.	Johns Hopkins University Press
M.U.P.	Malta University Press
Man.U.P.	Manchester University Press
O.U.P.	Oxford University Press
P.E.G.	Publishers Enterprises Group
P.I.N.	Publikazzjonijiet Indipendenza
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